



Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

April - September 1930

Volume XI

October 1930 - December 1941

Volume XII

Edited by. : Dr. K. K. Chaudhari

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
MUMBAI

PROLOGUE

I am very glad to bring out the e-Book Edition (CD version) of Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement. This e-book edition is facsimile reproduction of already published volumes.

So far twelve volumes are published under this series. They contain valuable data regarding India's struggle for freedom. These volumes form an important source for the scholars, historians who are interested in studying different phases and dimensions of the freedom movement. The material is collected from Government's secrete and confidential official records. Thus, these volumes have made available that information which was so far not easily accessible to the scholars.

Considering utility of these volumes, need was felt to preserve this treasure of knowledge. In this age of modernization, information and technology have become key words. To keep pace with the changing need of hour, I have decided to bring out a CD version of these volumes. I am sure, scholars and studious persons across the world will find these CDs immensely beneficial.

This CD contains Volume XI, "Civil Disobedience Movement (April-September 1930)" published in 1990 and Volume XII and "Civil Disobedience Movement (October 1930-December 1941)" published in 1995. Both of these volumes were edited by Dr. K.K.Chaudhari.

I am thankful to the Honourable Minister, Shri. Ashokrao Chavan (Industries and Mines, Cultural Affairs and Protocol), and the Minister of State, Shri. Rana Jagjitsinh Patil (Agriculture, Industries and Cultural Affairs), Shri Bhushan Gagrani, (Secretary, Cultural Affairs) Department, Government of Maharashtra for being a constant source of inspiration.

Place: Mumbai

Dr. Arunchandra S. Pathak

Date: 27th January 2007

Executive Editor and Secretary

FOREWORD

I am extremely happy to publish this volume on CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT: OCTOBER 1930 -- DECEMBER 1941 in the series "Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement in India " with special reference to Maharashtra. I am sure students as well as historians of the Indian Freedom Movement, and particularly of the Civil Disobedience Movement and Individual Satyagraha in the three regions of Maharashtra, will find this volume highly useful for comprehending the depth and width of the movement. I may be justified in cherishing such a belief because the documents contained in the volume were hitherto unpublished and inaccessible to historians due to the official restrictions of secrecy of papers. Even after the 'closed period ' for Government records was reduced from fifty to thirty years in the second half of 1960s, the documents are still not available to historians either by way of archival material in the Maharashtra Government Archives or direct access to the records of the Police Commissioner of Bombay or Maharashtra's Director-General of Police, except under a very special permission of the Government. The hitherto unpublished documents included in this volume are selected from the hoards of the Home Department of the Government of Maharashtra, Police Commissioner of Bombay, the Director-General of Police, Maharashtra Government Archives, National Archives of India in New Delhi, Hyderabad Archives, Bombay Native Newspaper Reports and the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi. These documents are culled from thousands of files of the Home Special Departments of the Bombay Government and the Governments of the Central Provinces and Berar and the Nizam of Hyderabad.

In the extensive Editor's Note on the Movement with which the volume starts, I have presented the scenario of Civil Disobedience as well as Freedom Struggle in Marathwada in a historical setting. The first part of the Editor's Note throws searching light on Mahatma Gandhi's conception of Civil Disobedience, the popular support it elicited, the stiffening trend in official thinking, Gandhi-Irwin settlement and the resumption of civil disobedience on 4 January 1932. The second part of the Note depicts the dilemma of the subjects against the feudalistic regime of the Nizam which denied them even the ordinary civil rights. The people of Hyderabad State had to fight a battle not merely against the paramount British power but also against a ruler who arrogated to himself the Divine Right to Rule and against "The Muslim Oligarchy "as Swami Ramanand Tirtha put it. The correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and Sir Akbar Hydari, and Jamnalal Bajaj and Sir Akbar Hydari throws a searching light on the obduracy of the Hyderabad regime.

Now a few words about the selection of the documents and their arrangement in this volume. In the very nature of things, the publication of documents pertaining to a history of freedom struggle can be the outcome only of proper selection. There are thousands of documents and reports pertaining to this period in historians. Hence only those documents which are relevant for a study of political struggle have been selected. Even in the selected documents it seemed desirable either to omit certain paragraphs or to select only extracts relevant to the theme. In many cases where a portion has been omitted, a line of asterisks has been inserted to indicate where the excisions occur.

In several cases the contents of the documents are briefly indicated in the editorial notes printed in italics for the convenience of the reader. I believe that these notes might enable the reader to understand the context of the documents and the importance of the event. The principal categories of the selected documents are, (i) Daily Reports of Police Commissioner of Bombay submitted to the Home Secretary of Government of Bombay, (ii) extracts from Congress Bulletins, propaganda literature, newspapers and periodicals, (iii) Fortnightly Reports of the Bombay Government and C. P. and Berar Government, (iv) correspondence between the Nizam's administration and other Governments, (v) Police Abstracts of Intelligence, (vi) correspondence between eminent freedom fighters and officials, and (vii) extracts from native newspaper reports.

While I was initially predisposed towards a topical arrangement of the documents, I came subsequently to a different conclusion. It occurred to me that topical arrangement had inherent disadvantages. Even a strictly chronological arrangement of all sorts of documents was not thought plausible. Hence the arrangement of documents has been made in six parts as under:—

Part I Daily Reports and Bombay Congress Bulletin.

Part II Police Abstracts of Intelligence.

Part III Forest Satyagraha at Chirner.

Part IV Report on Indian Native Newspapers.

Part V Freedom Struggle in Marathwada.

Part VI From Civil Disobedience to End of Individual Satyagraha.

Each of the Parts begins with the Editor's introductory note printed in italics. The documents in each part, along with their enclosures, are arranged in a chronological order. In determination of the chronological order the date of dispatch has been taken as a basis, while in the case of newsletters the date of their being forwarded to Government by the Police authorities has been taken as the basis of *i.e* classification, irrespective of the date of their issue.

Footnotes have been added appropriately to enable the user of this volume to appreciate the role of concerned person or the event in question, The user, it is believed, would find them informative and helpful in further research.

I am thankful to the Director-General of Police, Maharashtra State; Police Commissioner of Bombay ; Director of Maharashtra State Archives ; Director of the National Archives of India, New Delhi; and Commissioner of Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, for allowing to take copies of the necessary documents, but for which this volume would not have seen the light of the day.

I am thankful to Shri P. N. Narkhede, Shri N. R. Patil, Shri R. R. Hanwatkhar, Mrs. M. S. Modikhane, Sarvashri S. S. Gaikwad, R. S. Kumbhar, K. Z. Raut, D. J. Nawadkar, V. B. Sangrulkar, A. R. Pawar, G. N. Parab, S. K. Margaj. P. R. Gavali and other members of the staff for their assistance to me.

Shri P. S. More, Director, Government Printing and Stationery, Shri P. L. Purkar, Deputy Director, and Shri P. J. Gosavi, Manager, Government Press and Book Depot, Nagpur and other staff of the Press also deserve many thanks for good printing of this Volume.

Bombay

16 January 1995.

DR. K. K. CHAUDHARI

Executive Editor and Secretary

ABBREVIATIONS

A.I. C. C.	All-India Congress Committee
B.P. C. C.	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee
C.I. D.	Criminal Investigation Department
C. P.	Commissioner of Police
C. P. & B.	Central Provinces and Berar
C. P. C.	Criminal Procedure Code
C.W. C.	Congress Working Committee
D.C. P.	Deputy Commissioner of Police
D. I. G.	Deputy Inspector General of Police
I. P. C.	Indian Penal Code
M. P. C. C.	Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee
P. C.	Police Constable
R. I.	Rigorous Imprisonment
R. T. C.	Round Table Conference
S. I.	Simple Imprisonment

PART-II

POLICE ABSTRACTS OF INTELLIGENCE

BOMBAY POLICE ABSTRACTS
AND
C. P. POLICE ABSTRACTS



PART-II

Police Abstracts of Intelligence

This part of the Volume contains the matter culled from the Bombay Presidency Police Secret Abstracts of Intelligence and the Central Provinces and Berar Police Secret Abstracts of Intelligence. In the nature of things these Abstracts of Intelligence are yet secret and not accessible to students of History or research scholars. They are, probably, the most authentic documents which were originally got prepared for helping the framing of policy and execution of measures for maintaining law and order by the alien British Government. It can by no stretch of imagination be said that everything that is mentioned in these Abstracts is true. As a matter of fact, in the course of getting the material this Editor found that several observations made and assessment of the events done by the Police authorities in these Abstracts are not borne out by facts and truth about the events. It has, therefore, been incumbent upon the Editor to record his own observations in the Notes and Footnotes.

It should, however, be acknowledged that these documents are quite trustworthy for studying the history of freedom struggle.

The Police reports mention the names and activities of innumerable local leaders and activists, who participated in the freedom struggle. It has been necessary that very brief notes about their role in the national struggle should be furnished. Such an effort has been done in footnotes, within the constraints of available space. The users of this Volume, it is believed, will find the footnotes very useful.

Editor.

Secret

No. 9.

No. 40 of 1930.

Bombay Presidency Police**Abstract of Intelligence***Poona, Saturday, October 4, 1930*

Political, Politico-religious and Racial Movement

1748.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, Sept. 27.

Civil disobedience Movement, Bombay Presidency : General Summary of—

Agitation on the whole appears to be decreasing in the North, and continues to be of some importance in the South. Districts which appear to show comparatively little agitation are Thana, Bandra, Ahmednagar, West Khandesh, Poona and Sholapur. The following are details of the state of agitation in the districts individually.

Thana.—Week ending September 13. 11 meetings, the largest audience being 600.

Bandra.—Week ending September 13. Prabhat Feris, of which three were of large number, are the main forms of propaganda.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending September 20. General support to the movement is diminishing everywhere. No meetings of any size are reported. Collections of grazing fee are making progress, more so in Sangamner taluka than in Akola taluka where heavy rain has hampered communications. Persons paying grazing fees in Akola are, however, reported to be subjected to harassment and threats. Shastri Buwa is untraced..... This is probably a story related to enable him to fade away with dignity, as he has been losing ground.

Nasik.—Week ending September 13. There have been 21 meetings including the following with large attendances. Nasik, September 8 (1,000), boycott of Council elections ; Bhagur, September 5 (1,000), civil disobedience : Yeola, September 7 (3,000), unity between Hindus and Muhammedans ; and September 8 (2,000), boycott of Councils. Dr. Bhutekar continues to move about in the vicinity of Nandgaon, but is decidedly careful in the matter of his speeches.

West Khandesh.—Week ending September 13. Merchants of Taloda have been asked to boycott the Police Patels of Nimbhare and Pisawar as they have refused to resign their posts. Agitation appears to be decreasing.

East Khandesh.—Week ending September 13. five meetings with small attendances. Dr. Bhutekar, among others, visited the district.

Poona.--Week ending September 20. Only three meetings are reported in Poona city, none of importance. B.J. Deosthali is the new dictator of the Poona Youth League. Mrs. M. E. Cousins, theosophist and secretary of the Women's Indian Association, Madras, visited Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya in the Yeravda Jail on September 14, and addressed a small meeting of students the same evening. She advised them to leave college and work for complete independence as Dominion Status would do India no good.

Sholapur—Week ending September 13. There were no meetings or hartals. Only one procession is reported from Akluj in Malshiras taluka.

Ratnagiri--Week ending September 13. 37 meetings, all on account of the Ganapati festival combined with civil disobedience propaganda. There were large attendances at Ratnagiri, September 2 (1,000), September 6 (1,000) and September 7 (1,000).

Kolaba--Week ending September 20. 20 meetings with audiences upto 1,200. There was another general outburst of forest satyagraha in Panvel and Alibag talukas. On September 18, forest satyagraha took place at four places in Panvel taluka and at two places in Alibag taluka.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 41.

October 11, 1930.

1796. General Summary :

Thana--Week ending September 20. 11 meetings. None had an attendance over 200.

Bandra.--Week ending September 20. The usual daily meetings with attendances under 100, except in one case (on Gandhi's birthday) when the attendance did not exceed 400.

Nasik.--Week ending September 20. Meetings have dropped to 13 and audiences are smaller. Efforts are being made to enlist Congress members and about 700 names are reported as having been enrolled. Kalwan, Baglan, Nandgaon and Yeola talukas are the most affected by forest satyagraha in connection with non-payment of grazing fees. In the north, the movement appears to be spreading in Dindori taluka and Malegaon.

East Khandesh--September 20. Eight meetings with an attendance of over 1,000 at Jalgaon on September 19. The Youth League has started a Swadeshi store in Jalgaon city.

Poona.—Weeks ending September 27 and October 4. The Poona Youth League has formed a new body called the student's Union with the object of innoculating school boys with political ideas but not involving them in criminal activities. B. M. Gupte is president and the Council includes D. K. Sathe, D. R. Gupte, V. V. Bhagwat and himself. L. B. Bhopatkar, the President of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, returned to Poona from Thana Jail on September 24 and was the recipient of many congratulations

Sholapur--Week ending September 20. Prabhat feris at Akluj in Malsiras taluka, supported by the Shvetambar Jain Sect, are again reported.

Satara.--Week ending September 13. Seven meetings. Speakers are moderate and the district appears to be reverting to normal conditions.

Ratnagiri.--Week ending September 20. Ten meetings, small audiences. Prabhat feris continue to be the popular means of agitation.

Kolaba.--Week ending September 27. Enquiries are being continued in connection with the firing at Chirner village during the forest satyagraha. Congress volunteers are touring the villages in the vicinity and it is difficult to get the true details of the firing.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 42.

October 18, 1930.

1830—B. General Summary :

Bombay Suburban District, September 27--Usual daily meetings at which the principal speakers were Professor Dharmanand Kosambi, Mrs. Jankibai Bajaj and H. D. Rajah.

Week ending October 4. Prabhat feris continued as usual. A new Swadeshi Store was opened near Khar Station on October 2. There was forest satyagraha on Gandhi's second birthday at Mire in Thana Mahal. Five volunteers entered the forest and collected fuel and grass. No arrests were made.

In Laxminagar on October 4, Dr. N. D. Savarkar was congratulated on his release and made an interesting speech to an audience of 100. He boasted that he had been convicted along with Tilak and had never ceased agitating after his release. He also said that Gandhi had told them to be non-violent but in certain circumstances nonviolence was of no use. Violence must be used as it is seen that might is right. He further said that he was ready to sacrifice his life and urged the audience to join the movement.

Thana--Week ending September 20. There was a gathering of 3,000 persons at Virar to receive Jamnadas M. Mehta after his release from jail. Audiences at other meetings were below 500.

East Khandesh--Week ending September 27. The Youth League has been active in Jalgaon.

West Khandesh.--Week ending September 27. 31 meetings including 12 to protest against the Round Table Conference. No large attendances. Two jungle satyagrahas took place, one at Dangurna on September 25 when 700 people attended and the other at Kudawad in Shahada taluka on September 28 when 100 persons attended. In each case only ten persons were selected to break the law

Nasik —Week ending September 27, 24 meetings 2,000 villagers took part in mass forest satyagraha at Jamdari in Nandgaon Police Station and damaged trees, grass and wire-fencing to the extent of Rs. 200. The collection of forest dues is continued in Baglan taluka with the assistance of the Police.

Week ending October 4. There is still considerable interest in the movement especially in Nandgaon, Yeola, Malegaon, Trimbak and Vani. There were 21 meetings. Attendances over 1,000 at Vani on September 29 (condemnation of the Round Table Conference) and September 30 (1,300). About Rs. 9,000 have been collected up to October 11 on account of forest dues out of an average annual collection of Rs. 14,000 in Baglan taluka.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending September 27. Activities are concentrated on spinning and prabhat feri. A Prabhat Feri Mandal has replaced the Satyagraha Mandal. The president is Chamanlal Jasrak, Marwadi, and the secretary Navalmal Kundanmal Firodia. Shastri Buwa is still alive. He appeared at a mass forest satyagraha at Kirla in Akola taluka attended by 1,000 persons, mostly Kolis, Thakurs and Kunbis. He incited those present not to pay grazing fees and to boycott Government servants and those villagers who had paid their dues. He is again missing but two friends of his, Balkrishna Savlaram Shimpi of Kopargaon and Babu Koshti, were arrested at Yeola in Nasik district. Forest dues are being collected but the Kolis, Thakurs and Kunbis in the north of Akola taluka, bordering on Nasik district, and in the south bordering on Poona district are still stubborn and their stubbornness reacts on other communities.

Satara —Week ending September 27, 18 meetings. Forest satyagraha was launched at Lohare village in Wai taluka, but was poorly attended. Seven volunteers who played an active part in the proceedings were arrested.

Sholapur.—Week ending September 27. Flag processions took place in Barsi town.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending September 27, 10 meetings. At a meeting at Mithbav on September 24 the audience was asked to make raids on the salt depot at Mithbav. The tri-colour flag was hoisted on the English School and another was fixed to a tree in front of the vernacular school and the people were asked to guard it.

Kolaba.—Week ending October 4, 15 meetings. A meeting of 2,000 persons was held at Uran on October 3 to protest against the Round Table Conference.

Week ending October 11. Forest satyagraha took place in Mahad taluka on October 5 and October 10. In no case was the attendance as large as had been the case in the Panvel satyagraha. In each case the leaders were arrested subsequent to the event to avoid undue demonstration.

On October 8, Government declared the Congress bodies, etc., of Panvel, Uran and Karjat talukas unlawful assemblies. Accordingly the District Superintendent of Police raided the Panvel Congress Office on October 8 and arranged for the simultaneous raiding of the Uran and Karjat offices by the respective Sub-Inspectors. The three offices were closed and papers, etc., attached. At Panvel. subsequent to the raid, P. K. Gupte publicly opened another building as a nominal Congress Office and then absconded to Bombay. The flag and notice-board of this building also were removed by the police next day. Arrangements are being made to apprehend Gupte who is the only office-bearer of the Panvel committee.

At Uran and Karjat the office-bearers were arrested. The Alibag shibir on learning of the Government notification closed down, but reopened next day, when it was found that the Alibag shibir was not included in the list of bodies declared unlawful.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 43

October 25, 1930.

1887. General Summary :

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, October 18.—Meetings are fewer and sparsely attended, as a whole and agitation in future is likely to be more in secret than open. Wholesale arrests are not courted and dictators have taken the place of War Councils and Congress committees with the object of conserving man power. Volunteers are not forthcoming in large numbers, and those that are enlisted are mostly on daily wages who display their real lack of interest in the movement by offering apologies when arrested. Danger lies in incidents such as that which recently occurred at Chandkapur in Kalwan taluka, Nasik district. Illiterate villagers misled by Congress agents and stirred by the belief that Gandhi-Raj has come have shown unusual aggression in the movement.

The following are details of the state of agitation in the districts individually :

Bandra.—Week ending October 11. Prabhat feris and hartals have been the main forms of agitation. The Ville-Parle Chhawani was raided on October 11 and 56 volunteers including three leaders, *i.e.*, Dharmanand Kosambi, Dilkhush Divanji and Chhaganlal Diwavala, were arrested.

Nasik.—Week ending October 11. 16 meetings, none of the audiences over 800. Kalwan and Baglan talukas have shown much activity in connection with the non-payment of grazing fees. Collections are only made with the assistance of parties of police, and then only with great difficulty. The agitators in Kalwan have been outsiders in several cases including Dwarkanath Bhagwant Karnik¹ of Bombay, Vishnu Laxman Mehendale of Poona, Anant Swami *alias* Laxman Balaji Joshi Shastri (*Tarkatirth*)² of Wai, district Satara, and Shrikrishna Shrinivas Khot of Nagpur. All four were sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50. Much damage has already been done in this taluka. At Chandkapur in Kalwan taluka, a large body of Kolis gathered from several villages and defied the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police, who had gone there on October 19 with a party of 50 police. They had previously severely beaten minor forest and village police officials and compelled them to send in their resignations. When addressed by the District Magistrate they said that

¹Karnik later earned a name as a journalist and a great follower of M. N. Roy.

²Laxman Shastri was a great Sanskrit Scholar and Philosopher of Maharashtra.

Government had better cut the throats of " Gandhi Sarkar " and " Motilal Sarkar " and then rule them. They challenged the Police party with spears, bows and arrows, swords and stones and could only be dispersed by firing, in which 6 villagers were severely wounded. The firing had a good effect and 300 representatives of 20 villages in the vicinity presented themselves with double grazing fees from their villages shortly afterwards.

East Khandesh.—Week ending October 4. Prabhat feris continue to be taken out and national flags were carried in Dassera processions at several places.

West Khandesh.—Week ending October 4. 10 meetings, two had audiences over 1,000 at Shirpur, *i.e.*, September 27 (1,500) and September 29 (2,000).

Ahmednagar.—Week ending October 11. One meeting with an attendance over 1,000 is reported from Ahmednagar on October 8 held in connection with sentences passed on Bhagatsingh, Rajguru, etc. Forest satyagraha is active to some extent, though not openly.

Poona.—Week ending October 11. The Poona Youth League held six meetings in connection with Gandhi Week. On October 11; 5,000 leaflets were seized from Vijay Printing Press announcing a procession and speeches to congratulate the Lahore murderers on their patriotism.

The District Superintendent of Police remarks. " It is becoming increasingly apparent that the Poona Youth League aims at violent revolutionary methods, and the treatment of it as an unlawful association under the C. L. Amendment Act of 1908 is being considered. "

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 44

November 1, 1930.

1947.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, October 31.—The effect of the Ordinance declaring Congress bodies illegal has been excellent. Bombay Suburban District repeat, the same tale that Congress committees are being dissolved and volunteers are dispersing, with no homes, no funds and no plans. It will take the Congress some time to recover and adapt themselves to this state of affairs. Except in isolated cases those influential leaders who were arrested at the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement and who have now been released have not laid themselves open to rearrest by seditious speeches. It would, however, be unwise to neglect such men as N. V. Gadgil of the Poona Youth League, the most influential agitator or V. V. Dastane of Bhusawal, East Khandesh District.

N. C. Kelkar has sponsored an unofficial committee appointed to enquire into the Chirner firing by Police (September 25). Sittings commence at Bombay on November 4. The committee is appointed by the Sarvajanik Sabha.

The following are details of the state of agitation in the districts individually :—

Thana.—Week ending October 18. Twenty meetings. The boycott of scent and crackers are new sources of amusement to youthful picketers. Women speakers attracted some attention during the week at Vada, but audiences were small.

Bandra.—Week ending October 18. The District Superintendent of Police remarks.— " The effect of the new Ordinance in this district has been tremendous. A large number of people who previously were considerably interested in the movement have decided to take no further part in it, and there has been apparently great difficulty in obtaining audiences for meetings. This effect has been further increased as a result of action being taken in Bombay. "

On October 19, the so-called new chhawani at Ville-Parle was raided, the flag and board being confiscated and removed to the old chhawani. That day also Chembur and Ghatkopar sub-chhawanis were raided, volunteers arrested and contents confiscated. The small sub-chhawani at Bhandup closed of its own accord. There are very few processions of any description anywhere now, practically no meetings are being held and most of the Congress committees have been dissolved.

East Khandesh.—Week ending October 11. Two meetings. Week ending October 18. Seven meetings, protest against the death sentence passed on Bhagatsingh and others. Boycott of liquor and foreign cloth are the main subjects at meetings.

West Khandesh.—Week ending October 11. Nine meetings, none of any importance.

Nasik.—Week ending October 18. Sixteen meetings. Two at Yeola had audiences over 1,000. 3,500 on October 8 and 1,000 on October 14. The boycott of foreign goods was the subject at these two meetings. G. B. Bhutekar is active in Sinnar, but is careful in his speech.

Poona.—Week ending October 18. The Poona Youth League has become the rallying centre for adult as well as adolescent Congress agitators. It appears that 2 Poona Youth League workers, Karnik and Mehendale (brother of S.B.Mehendale) took part in the forest satyagraha at Kalwan and Nampur in Nasik District. N. V. Gadgil was the recipient of meetings in honour of his release.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending October 18. Kolis are still stubborn in parts of Akola taluka adjoining Poona district. Elsewhere there is little enthusiasm and agitation is mostly confined to prabhat feris.

Satara.—Week ending October 18. Eight meetings. Satara city may show further activity due to the release of agitators whose sentences are up.

Shohapur.—Week ending October 18. A small meeting of 300 persons was held on October 18 by P. G. Beke, secretary of the Sholapur Branch of the Bombay Labour Union. The judgment in the Sessions Court. Arson and Conspiracy Case, which was given the same day, was referred to and Antrolkar's sentence to 10 years' imprisonment condemned.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending October 11. Fourteen meetings. Protest against death sentence passed on Bhagatsingh and others. Propaganda on usual lines.

Week ending October 18. Twelve meetings. Similar propaganda. Maximum attendance 500.

Kolaba—Week ending October 18 Nine meetings. The application of Ordinance IX against the Congress Committees at Uran, Panvel and Karjat has had a quietening effect and there is a wait and see attitude among the local Congressmen.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 45

November 8, 1930.

2002-A.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, November 1.—Open agitation is definitely on the wane and such volunteers as remain are on the defensive and in many cases have been advised to move about without their badges and not seek Police interest in their movements or doings.

The following is the state of agitation in the district individually :-

Thana.—Week ending October 25. Six meetings. Jamnadas M Mehta had an audience of 900 at Yewoor under Palghar. Agitation has greatly decreased for the present in this district.

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending October 25. Agitation has greatly decreased here too. Mrs. Kamalaben Sonawalla, dictator of the Ville-parle Chhawani, was arrested on October 20. The volunteers of the Ville-Parle Chhawani who are not yet arrested are playing a game of hide and seek with the authorities.

East Khandesh.—Week ending October 18. Seven unimportant meetings. Prabhat feris and a few flag processions are the only other form of agitation.

West Khandesh.—Week ending October 25. Nine unimportant meetings. V. G. Jawdekar, M. P. Khaladkar, Shaligram R Marwadi and Vinayak Narhar Barve are trying to keep the movement alive by various means particularly in Shahada taluka but are not meeting with much success.

Nasik.—Week ending October 25. Eight meetings. No attendances over 1,000. The state of affairs at Kalwan rapidly improved after the firing on October 19 and by the end of the week most of the arrears of grazing fees had been received.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending October 25. Shastri Buwa is reported to have held a meeting at Patta fort on October 16. It is reported that volunteers from Bombay are entering the district to encourage forest agitation in Akola taluka. Four arrests were made including two women volunteers, the latter were sisters of Shrinivas Ganesh Sardesai of Bombay and Shripad Ramchandra Tikekar of Dadar. The District Superintendent of Police marched with a force of 100 Police to effect arrest in the Khirla-kombhalne area in connection with forest satyagraha. Slow but steady collection of grazing fees is now being made.

Sholapur.—Week ending October 25. On October 19 a handwritten poster advocating the renewal of agitation was pasted up in Sholapur. Boys of the Jain Boarding Hostel are suspected. Prabhat feris are the only forms of agitation.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending October 25. Eleven meetings. Interest in the movement is diminishing.

Kolaba.—Week ending October 25. Nine unimportant meetings. Some hartals were observed in connection with the arrest of Jawaharlal Nehru. Prabhat feris have discontinued in Karjat, Uran and Nagothana but not at Panvel.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 46

November 15, 1930.

2043-B.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, Novembers 8.—Open agitation is at about the same low level as last week. Very few meetings are reported from most districts, the largest number being held in the south.....

The following is the state of agitation in the districts individually :—

Thana.—Week ending November 1. Nine meetings. Enthusiasm for the Congress appears to be definitely on the wane. Prohibition is the main slogan and a Thana District Liquor Prohibition Mandal was formed on October 31 and has started work in Bassein taluka.

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending November 1. Dahiben Jayakisandas Desai is the new dictator. Women and children are the main agitators here but there is very little doing.

East Khandesh.—Week ending October 25. Seven meetings. Two at Chikhaltan. taluka Chalisgaon, had attendances of 500. The movement appears to be dying down.

West Khandesh.—Week ending November 1. 20 meetings. Only two had audiences over 500. V. G. Jawadekar has established two committees at Shahada for alleged constructive work.

Nasik.—Week ending November 1. 13 meetings. Audiences below 700. Kalwan taluka is quiet. In Baglan taluka some seven or eight villages are holding but against the payment of grazing fees.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending November 1. Forest satyagraha is reported to be breaking down in Akola taluka. A report has been received by the District Superintendent of Police that a crowd of 3,000 armed with slings, axes, etc., gathered at Kohone under Kotul when a Head Constable went there and announced their intention of dying rather than paying grazing fees. The District Superintendent of Police considers that the report is exaggerated. Meetings in Ahmednagar still draw considerable audiences but prabhat feris are the more usual forms of agitation.

Poona.—Week ending November 1. G.N. Kanitkar came out of jail on October 29 and was the subject of congratulatory meetings and hailed as Poona's second Tilak. His first utterance was a hint of dropping non-violence in future. The Poona City Municipality has from time to time passed resolutions condemning Government for arrests of all India leaders. Saswad continues to be the most disaffected part of the district outside Poona.

Sholapur.—Week ending November 1. Manekchand Ramchandra Shah returned to Sholapur from jail on October 28. He was received by 300 persons at the station. It appears he desires to lead a retired life for the present. A few unimportant displays of the Congress flag occurred at Sholapur, only boys taking part.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending November 1. 10 meetings. The starting of no-tax campaign has been preached.

Kolaba.—Week ending November 1. Six meetings. The District Superintendent of Police's remarks—here are a good summing up the situation generally at present—"Judging by events or lack of events the movement has lost strength. The anti-Government spirit remains however but is not expressed in action, solely on account of lack of leaders of a definite plan of campaign. The Swadeshi movement remains strong."

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 47

November 22, 1930.

2089.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, November 21. —The Congress is now bringing up its second line of attack, the women and children, as its original "storm troops"—the much vaunted volunteers—are no longer available in numbers.

Attempts to raise public resentment against Government were made by many speakers who referred to the treatment of women on the Azad Maidan in Bombay. Jawaharlal Nehru's arrest also produced several meetings

Thana.—Week ending November 8. 4 meetings, attendances all below 50. A Swadeshi Store was opened by Jamnadas M. Mehta at Palghar on November 8.

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending November 8. Prabhat feris and monkey army activities are the main forms of agitation. The monkey army boys are being used for selling unauthorised literature in the trains and at railway stations. Some hartals are reported in honour of Gandhi Day and for local arrests at Ghatkopar.

East Khandesh.—Week ending November 1. 9 meetings, largest attendance 1,000 at Jalgaon on October 30, to congratulate Jawaharlal Nehru on his conviction. Some lecturers from outside the district have been noticed in it.

Week ending November 8. 15 meetings. The outside visitors to East Khandesh include V. T. Paranjpe of Poona, V. V. Dastane, Mrs. Yashodabai Bhat. Laxman Shastri Dravid and Devanayakcharya of Benares. They have been touring in two talukas to the north of the Tapti and in Jamner taluka. Asoda village is mentioned by the District Superintendent of Police as a trouble some centre of agitation.

Nasik.--Week ending November 8. 14 meetings. Attendance of 1,000 at Yeola city on October 30 on account of Jawaharlal Nehru's arrest. There is noticeable agitation still in Yeola, Nasik city and a small area in the south of Malegaon taluka. Kalwan has been quiet since the grazing fee trouble occurred there. In Baglan taluka the remaining villages which refused to pay grazing fees have since paid up their double fees dues and the four offenders who had escaped from police custody in October surrendered themselves to the Mamlatdar. G. B. Bhutekar is still active with Nandgaon as his headquarters.

Poona.--Week ending November 8. Poona has had a quiet week marked by two convictions. The first of G. M. Nalavade, editor of the now defunct newspaper *Sangram*. The other conviction was a sentence of three months on Chandulal Dalsukh Shah.

Ratnagiri.--Week ending November 8. 8 meetings, two being in connection with the conviction of Jawaharlal Nehru. The incidents at Bombay on the Azad Maidan were the subjects of speeches.

Kolaba.--Week ending Novembers. 8 meetings, including several to congratulate released political convicts. Volunteers are active in Alibag taluka. The local volunteer camp is reported as still being kept open.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 48

November 29, 1930.

2157.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, November 29.--There is little change in the situation as described last week. Volunteers are not forthcoming in the districts in numbers and women and children are encouraged to take their place.

Thana.--Week ending November 15. 5 meetings, attendances under 500. There was an attempt of forest satyagraha at Kashi under Thana Mahal on November 9 which was frustrated by the Police arresting the five leaders. Prohibition is being preached in the villages in Bassein taluka from Sopara as centre.

East Khandesh.--Week ending November 15. 11 meetings. Attendances over 1,000 at Jalgaon, November 11(1,000) and November 12 (1,200). Mir Shukrulla was the prominent speaker at both along with speakers from outside the district. Shri Bharat Sewak Mandal was opened at Pachora on November 9 and is affiliated to the Charkha Mandal. It appears to be the Taluka Congress Committee under a new name.

Nasik.—Week ending November 15. 13 meetings, attendances under 500. Liquor shop picketing at Yeola led to stone-throwing and injury to four constables. S. B. Bhutekar is still rampant in Nandgaon taluka.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending November 15. 11 meetings. Largest attendance at Ahmednagar on November 11 (2,000). Padmasalis resolved to give up drink and to inflict fines of Rs. 5 on such of their members as were caught out in this vice. General support to the Civil Disobedience Movement is weakening in Akola taluka except in the Palsunde area.

Satara.—Week ending November 8. 15 meetings. There is activity at Wai and Karad but the general situation is otherwise quiet. Agitation is directed towards non-payment of land revenue.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending November 15. 11 meetings, none of importance. Morning rounds are the main forms of political entertainment, and continued at 43 places in the district. A raid of the salt works at Shiroda took place on November 9 by 200 members of prabhat feris. 20 arrests were made by men of the Salt Department. The raid followed a lecture delivered on November 6 by Trimbak Raghunath Deogirikar of Poona inciting the people to use contraband salt. The situation is now quiet.

Kolaba.—Week ending November 15. 10 meetings. Audiences up to 300. M. R. Gosavi urged the people of Alibag on November 8 to show their spirit and follow Panvel.

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2183. Raid on Salt Works at Shiroda :

Ratnagiri, November 15.—During the early hours of the morning of November. 9, about 200 persons of Shiroda, Redi, Aravali and Ajgaon (Sawantwadi State) started prabhat feris from Ajgaon, and while passing through the salt works, Shiroda, raided one of the platforms and removed about 80 maunds of salt. Ten of them were arrested. After this raid, about 50 Special Salt Department Constables have been posted at Shiroda, 40 of them were armed.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 50

December 13, 1930.

2319.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, December 13—Meetings are less both in number and in the size of audience. They have been held mostly in connection with the nonpayment of land revenue and as welcomes to released leaders.

¹ During the earlier raid on 12 May 1930. nearly 583 volunteers from Bombay. Jalgaon, Satara, Pune, Ratnagiri and Ahmednagar took part in Salt Satyagraha under the leadership of S. D. Jawdedekar. Dr. Athalye, Vinayakrao Bhuskute, Dr. Lagu and Sahastrabudhe.

A subject which has been greatly agitating the people in general has been the sentences of death on the Sholapur murderers. References, both in the Press and at meetings, continue to be made to the refusal of the Privy Council to grant leave of appeal in the Sholapur case in which Dhanshetti and three others have been condemned to death. The *Mahratta* writes : " By executing the sentences a deep wound will be made in the heart of Maharashtra and there cannot be any remedy to heal that wound ".

The most recent meeting in this connection is one held in Poona on December 11 with an audience of 2,000. It is significant that Fr. Winslow of the Christa Seva Sangh was chosen as president, and his plea is typical of the view taken up by Indian opinion. It is as follows : " We are not here to condone the wrong done. Our petition is based on a measure of doubt which exists in respect of their conviction and the conditions prevailing under Martial Law. It is noteworthy that in the High Court two different judges came to two different conclusions. This indicates therefore there must be some doubt and therefore according to the best traditions of English law, the benefit of the doubt should be given to the condemned man. "

The following are details of agitation in the districts mentioned below :—

Thana.—Week ending November 29. 6 meetings. There are rumours of a mass raid on salt works by the people of Juchandra in Bassein taluka.

Bandra.—Week ending November 29. Salt agitation and the sale of " Patrikas " are mentioned.

East Khandesh.—Week ending November 29. V. V. Dastane and Mir Shukrulla Khan have been busy on foreign cloth boycott campaign in Bhusawal. C. B. Bhutekar, Dr. Nilkant Ganesh Sane and Vishnu Balwant Nerkar of Amraoti visited the district.

West Khandesh.—Week ending November 29. 15 meetings. Agitation on general lines and largely attended at Dhulia, November 22 (4,000), November 23 (1,000) and November 24 (3,000). G. B. Bhutekar also visited this district.

Nasik.—Week ending November 29. 7 meetings. Large audiences at Nasik, November 26 (4,000) to congratulate B.J. Marathe ex-editor of the *Swatantrya*, on his release from jail, November 29 (4,000), Yeola, November 21 (3,000).

Ahmednagar.—Week ending November 29. 4 meetings, audience 3,000 at Ahmednagar on November 24 to welcome the released prisoners. Opposition in the Palsunde group of villages broke down and Revenue and Forest officials are now able to function throughout the taluka. Patils who had submitted resignations have withdrawn the same when grazing fees were paid. Additional Police are still being kept at Akola and Rajur for the present.

Kolaba.—Week ending November 29. Boycott of foreign goods continues. The District Superintendent of Police remarks that 25 Police Patils of villages in the northern half of Alibag taluka have resigned and volunteers are still moving about among the Agri villagers. Government servants are given no assistance and no information. Mahad taluka also shows activity, probably in preparation for a no-tax campaign.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 51

December 20, 1930.

2398.

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, December 20.—Agitation is on the usual lines, with the addition of propaganda for the boycott of the Census. The latter has taken two forms. In some cases operations have been obliterated. There has also been advice to communities to adopt new names for their sects in order to hamper the Census work.

Propaganda is active with regard to the non-payment of land revenue and boycott of foreign cloth, which appear to be the two chief objects of Congress attention of present.

The following are details of the state of agitation in the districts individually :—

Thana.—Week ending December 6. B. G. Horniman¹ presided at the hoisting of the Congress flag in Chendni, Thana town, on November 30.

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending December 6. Prabhat feris, sale of patrikas by children, and picketing of liquor shops are the main forms of agitation. Hartals are also popular.

East Khandesh.—Week ending December 6. Seven meetings, one with an attendance of 1,000 at Jalgaon on November 30. S. R. Kulkarni, president of the Taluka Congress Committee, indulged in some bombastic speech making and was arrested.

Nasik.—Week ending December 6. Nine meetings, attendances below 500. G. B. Bhutekar is active in Niphad taluka and prabhat feris move about in Nasik city.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending December 6. 6,000 people gathered at a meeting at Ahmednagar on December 3 to welcome P. H. Patwardhan on release from jail. Patwardhan praised the Bengal revolutionaries and advocated the nonpayment of taxes. Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale Presided. Gandhi Day, December 5, produced an audience of 1,500.

Poona.—Week ending December 6. Prospectuses have been issued for a Swadeshi Exhibition in January next. N. C. Kelkar and V. G. Limaye. editor of the *Dnyan Prakash*, figure among the promoters. Five meetings are reported with meagre attendances.

Sholapur.—Week ending December 6. The surreptitious hoisting of Congress flags appears to be on the increase. The congress flag was unwisely hoisted on the gate of the Collector's compound and the two men seen doing it were arrested. Two meetings are reported at Pandharpur town where Narayan Ramchandra Nerkar and Anant Shridhar Kshire of Dhulia made speeches on their jail experiences.

¹ A Gandhian and editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending December 6. Agitation is much on the wane throughout the district. Serving of notices on outsiders remaining in the district and prohibiting the local leaders from taking part in the movement is having a good effect.

Kolaba.—Week ending December 6. Agitation for the non-payment of land revenue was mentioned in Alibag and Mahad talukas. There were nine meetings with an attendance up to 900.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 1

January 3, 1931.

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33. *Thana.*—Week ending December 13. Prohibition propaganda and prabhat feris are mentioned.

Bombay Suburban District.—Weeks ending December 13 and 20. Agitation of minor nature and the collection of information regarding increase in land assessment. Weaving classes have been started.

West Khandesh.—Week ending December 13. Nine meetings, two with attendances over 1,000 in connection with municipal affairs.

East Khandesh.—Week ending December 13. Twenty-seven meetings. The boycott of foreign articles was preached.

Nasik. —Week ending December 13. 11 meetings. G. B. Bhutekar is active in Nandgaon taluka. There was a gathering of 4,000 at Yeola city on December 7 to congratulate K. R. Vaishampaya on his release from jail.

Week ending December 20. 10 meetings, Two meetings with attendances over 2,000 each. Meeting of 1,000 at Nasik city (18th December 1930) to congratulate the released prisoners of Baglan taluka and Yeola. December 13; 2,000 to congratulate thirteen prisoners convicted in the local riot case ; volunteers are being collected for picketing cloth shops.

Ahmednagar.—Weeks ending December 13 and 20. Audience of 3,000 at Ahmednagar on December 14 in honour of Babu Genu. Government was accused of murder and the audiences asked if there was any difference at all between the deaths of Babu Genu. Mr. Lowman and Colonel Simpson ; December 19 (4,000) Motilal Nehru Day.

Poona.---Week ending December 13. Except for the meeting already reported in which Fr. Winslow presided over an audience of 1,500 to appeal to the Viceroy on behalf of the Sholapur Murderers, attendances have been small in Poona.

Week ending December 20. Babu Genu week was celebrated and produced a series of speeches by G. N. Kanitkar, N. V. Gadgil and other local leaders. The Poona City Municipality adjourned on December 16 and the District Local Board on December 18 in connection with Babu Genu's death. G. V. Ketkar, former President of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, was welcomed back in Poona after six months in jail. A notax meeting attended by 1,500 persons took place at Saswad on December 17 while the District Magistrate was in camp there. It was got up by Shivram Vishnu Purandhare, President of the Purandar Taluka Congress Committee. Resolutions were passed demanding remission of seventy-five per cent of land revenue. In spite of this meeting the Saswad situation appears to have improved.

Satara.—Week ending December 13. 11 meetings. Propaganda for postponement of land revenue. Week ending December 20. 5 meetings.

Sholapur.—Week ending December 13. 2 meetings at Pandharpur. Week ending December 20. 2 meetings at Pandharpur. One against the commutation of the sentences of local murderers and the other to express sorrow at the death of the Martyr Babu Genu.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending December 20. 16 meetings, including 3 on account of Babu Genu's death.

Kolaba.—Week ending December 13. Non-payment of taxes is advocated in Poladpur taluka. In Alibag, agitation is in a more advanced state and is carried on surreptitiously. It is widely advocated that tenants should not pay rent to their landowners who refuse to promise non-payment of revenue to Government. A. V. Chitre and N. N. Patil are active agitators.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 2

January 10, 1931.

127 Agitation follows the usual lines and is devoted mainly to propaganda for nonpayment of taxes and boycott of census.

In the South and in Thana district the anti-liquor campaign and foreign cloth boycott is strongly pressed.....

Thana, East Khandesh and Satara show the spread of applications for the remission of land revenue. Kolaba district reports the continuance of agrarian unrest.

Towards the end of the week it became evident that there would be no reprieve for the Sholapur murderers and agitation with a view to increasing popular sympathy for them was on the increase.

Thana.—Week ending December 27. 14 meetings, six of which were in connection with request for remission of land revenue and a general revision of the recently increased land assessment, Bassein taluka is threatened with a week of prohibition propaganda.

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending December 27. The Bandra Municipality resolved not to assist Government in Census work. Most of the agitation is in connection with Swadeshi and it is reported that an institution called the Navjiwan Sangh is opened for training volunteers in carding, spinning and the so-called village constructive work.

East Khandesh.—Week ending December 20. 17 meetings. Mrs. Hansa Mehta visited the district for the opening of a Swadeshi exhibition at Jalgaon on December 14 when there was an audience of 2,000 Jawahar Day, December 16, had an audience of 1,000. Bhimrao T. Deshpande held six meetings and asked cultivators to sign a petition to Government asking for suspension of land revenue.

Nasik.—Week ending December 27. 9 meetings, audiences under 600. Yeola is still active.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending December 27. A few villages in Akola taluka are still refusing to pay grazing fees and police help was requisitioned. Two meetings in Ahmednagar (December 21 and 27) had audiences over 2,000.

Poona.—Week ending December 27. K. M. Ranade exhibited himself publicly as a hunger striker from December 20 to 27 in Poona city. The strike was broken with the announcement that 51 cloth merchants had promised to seal stocks of foreign cloth. Most of the merchants concerned are Brahmins. Big merchants are still holding out. H. M. Bhandare attempted to acquire notoriety by providing a similar spectacle of a hunger-striker and put up a placard saying we would hold out until 999 merchants gave a similar promise. He received no local encouragement.

Satara.—Week ending December 27. 9 meetings. Land revenue propaganda is active and is assisted by the prevailing low prices in agricultural produce. Sympathy for the Sholapur martyrs was also expressed at meetings.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending December 27. 18 meetings, largest attendance 300. Propaganda against the payment of land revenue.

Kolaba.—Week ending December 27. In Panvel, agitation is centred on the Chirner Case, 10 meetings are reported including one alleged agriculturists meeting at Pen on December 25. A good deal of secret agitation is going on in the district.

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128.—Execution of the Sholapur Murderers :

S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, January 15.—The execution of the four Sholapur martyrs took place in the Yeravda Central Jail, Poona, on January 12. The news of the probability of their execution spread in Poona city from the afternoon of January 10. In Poona itself, a small number of persons, about 100, with a large proportion of Bohras, went towards the jail on the morning of the execution, but returned in orderly

fashion on being told that the execution had already taken place and that the bodies had been disposed off. Later on, leaflets announcing this were issued by G. N. Kanitkar, N. V. Gadgil and V. M. Bhuskute and asked for hartal and a public meeting. The meeting attracted 5,000 persons and was far from orderly. G. S. Joshi asked the public to sacrifice their lives as the persons executed had done. N. V. Gadgil got a resolution passed that the accused who were executed were innocent and that sheer injustice had been done by Government.

In Sholapur, news of the execution arrived at midday the 12th January, and a hartal took place. The District Magistrate prohibited processions in connection with the annual Sankrant Siddeshwar Fair for which large crowds had gathered under Section 144, C. P. C, as a precautionary measure.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 3

January 7, 1931.

187. The Sholapur sentences were widely misrepresented and used to stir up feeling of audiences that injustice had been done. The leading article in the *Mahratta* newspaper for the 15th instant is of considerable interest despite it being full of perverted sentiment and somewhat hysterical as showing the feeling aroused over the case in Maharashtra in particular. Such phrases as " four convicts who are bound to be regarded as canonised by all Indian ", " the conviction of those Sacchos and Venzetis of India ", " the four innocents despatched summarily from this world for fault or faults which not God himself but only the British Bureaucracy only knows " show the obvious intention to make martyrs of the hanged for many years to come. The article concludes the only feeble consolation to the lacerated Indian hearts in the present all-round distressful conditions is the religious belief that, in the just dispensation of providence, the holy blood of innocents cannot continue to be shed for long without fit retribution.

The following are details of the state of agitation in the districts individually :—

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending January 3. Swadeshi Bazaar at Malad, flag salutation ceremonies and prabhat feris are reported.

West Khandesh —Week ending January 3. 11 meetings. Dhulia, December 27 (3,000), offered prayers for the health of Vithalbhai Patel, December 28 (5,000), A. S. Kshire, M. P. Khaladkar and N. K. Vaidya were the speakers, N. K. Vaidya broke the prohibitory order served on him by the District Magistrate.

Nasik.—Week ending January 3. 8 meetings, largest audience 1,500. G. B. Bhutekar still moves about the district attempting to keep agitation alive.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending January 3. Large audience at Ahmednagar, on December 28. P. H. Patwardhan and A. S. Patwardhan were the chief speakers. 5,000 persons attended the Mali Conference held at Kopargaon and at Rahata, on January 1. 3,000 persons welcomed Swami Sahajanand and Jasraj Pemraj, Marwadi, on their return from jail.

Poona.—Week ending January 3. Poona is quiet. The Youth League published an inflammatory bulletin in connection with the Sholapur executions. It was issued by Shivajirao Phatak, Dictator of the Youth League.

Satara.— Week ending January 3. Printed forms of memorials to be submitted to the Collector for remission of land revenue are being circulated in the district.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending January 3. 7 meetings. Interest in the Civil Disobedience Movement appears to be on the wane.

Kolaba.—Week ending January 3. Agrarian unrest continues and at occasional meetings tenants reiterate their determination to pay reduced measures to landlords and not to occupy land vacated by other tenants. Mahad and Poladpur show some activity.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 4

January 24, 1931.

245. *S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona, January 29*—Agitation received its principal stimulus this week from the death of Maulana Muhammad Ali in London. This was observed in most districts on January 6 and in a few cases combined with Gandhi Day (January 5).....

In addition there were hartals in many districts including Thana, Bombay Suburban District, East Khandesh, Ahmednagar.....

Agitation for the reduction of land assessment is still active in many districts including Thana, East Khandesh, Kolaba.....

The following is the state of agitation in the districts individually :—

Thana.—Week ending January 10. 10 meetings, the largest audience was 4,000 at Dhansoli under Thana Mahal to voice the grievances of villagers in connection with land revenue, forest, etc.

Bombay Suburban District.—Week ending January 10. Boycott of Census is active.

East Khandesh.—Week ending January 10. Warkhedi, Pachora taluka, had an alleged meeting of cultivators on January 9 (1,200) to discuss non-payment of land revenue.

Nasik.—Week ending January 10. 13 meetings, including several with large attendances as follows :—

Nasik, January 5, (2,000), Gandhi Day. Satana, January 10 (1,000) to congratulate a released prisoner and to express condolence at the death of Muhammad Ali. Yeola, January 6 (1,500), condolence meeting for Muhammad Ali. Naitale, January 4 (4,000), boycott of foreign cloth and tea.

Ahmednagar.—Week ending January 10. Attendance of 1,500 on January 5 (Gandhi Day). January 6 (2,000) on account of the death of Muhammed Ali.

Poona.—Week ending January 10. Cloth dealers are again threatened with picketing.

Sholapur.—Week ending January 10. Condolence meetings for Muhammad Ali took place at Sholapur, January 6, 500 and Pandharpur, January 7, 1,000. At the latter place local Hindu agitators took a prominent part and the Congress Flag was flown.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending January 10. 30 meetings, 15 of these were held at various places under Kankavli Police Station and were chiefly organised by Vithal Mahadeo Paranjape and Vasant Dattatraya Malandkar. Boycott of the Census mostly preached.

Kolaba.—Week ending January 10. 15 meetings, audiences up to 600. Agrarian unrest is becoming an item of major importance. The boycott of English goods remain strong particularly at Mahad. Pen and Alihag.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 5

January 31, 1931.

310. *S. B. Bombay Presidency, Poona. February 3.*— The majority of meetings reported this week were held to express sympathy with the Sholapur martyrs. The View taken by the *Mahratta* and *Kesari* newspapers was the view widely spread by agitators in Maharashtra, that the persons executed were innocent political martyrs and brave patriots who had been sacrificed by Government in a spirit of revenge for the happenings in Sholapur. Meetings in this connection are reported from 17 districts.....

Agitation in connection with the boycott of Census is mentioned in the reports received from the Thana and Bombay Suburban District.

It is interesting to consider the type of propaganda which takes place at the so called agriculturists' meetings and that held at Varkhedi, Police Station, Pimpalgaon. East Khandesh District, on January 9 is typical. Nilkant Ganesh Sane of Shendurni presided and told those assembled that they already knew of the existence of the struggle for Swarajya but of greater importance than this was the struggle for bread, which was the personal struggle of all of them. Government continuously raised land assessment in recent years. It was false to say that the depreciation in market prices was due to political agitation. These rumours were

circulated by Government to discredit those who had gone to jail for the sake of the Nation. During the Great War Government raised the market rates, and it has now lowered them by the same extent. It raised the rates to save itself and lowered it for the same reason and now blame the agitators. The Congress was working for the good of the country and the Civil Disobedience Movement itself had done, no harm to individuals. The so—called agriculturists' meeting also dwelt with extended use of Khaddar and prohibiting of liquor. (Sadashiv Shrikrishna Chitnis, also called Zipru Buwa of Poona, said that Government said that the revenue from liquor went towards education and they must therefore drink liquor to get education. Government would not reduce the number of liquor shops merely by being requested to do so).

The following are details of the state of agitation in the districts individually :—

Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts.—Week ending January 17. Anti-Census agitation continues.

East Khandesh.—Week ending January 17. 12 meetings, including one at Jalgaon, January 16'. with an attendance over 1,000 in connection with the Sholapur executions.

Nasik.—Week ending January 17. 14 meetings, several with large attendances in connection with the death of Muhammad Ali or in connection with agitation.

Poona.—Week ending January 17. 8 meetings. 2 with attendances of 3,000 and 5,000 respectively on January 12. the day of the execution of the Sholapur martyrs. N. V. Gadgil and S. R. Phatak of the Youth League took a leading part. The Poona City Municipality adjourned on January 13 in connection with the executions.

Sholapur.—Week ending January 17. Agitation was confined to hartals on account of the executions which affected the Siddeshwar Fair and mills. Processions were forbidden by the District Magistrate by an order under section 144 C.P.C.

Ratnagiri.—Week ending January 17. 18 meetings, many of them in connection with the Sholapur executions.

Kolaba.—Week ending January 17. 10 meetings. Agrarian agitation continues to spread in Alibag taluka.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 1

January 2, 1932.

15. S. B. *Bombay Presidency. Poona. January 2.*---The end of December showed considerable activity in Congress circles. Districts were visited by outside agitators, attempts were made to rally the Depressed Classes and Muhammadans to Congress and districts almost without exception report the advice of agitators to their audiences to prepare for a renewal of the struggle with Government. Its inevitability and its necessity was constantly stressed.

Jawaharlal Nehru, who visited Sholapur district in a rapid tour, continued to emphasise the fact that the renewal of the struggle was inevitable.....

It would appear that the strongest pressure would be exerted on Mr Gandhi on his return to recommence the struggle and this has apparently occurred.

Congress also continued to display a keen interest in the agriculturists. The formation of agricultural associations with agriculturists in a minority and Congress pleaders in a majority were a feature of the propaganda.

Stress is also constantly laid on the importance of the boycott propaganda, particularly with regard to foreign cloth. This will inevitably develop into the boycott of everything British. It appears likely that attempts will be made to use more of women in the future struggle with Government. It is doubtful, however, that women of good families will join in picketing activities to any great extent in Maharashtra.

An attempt will probably be made to celebrate the twelfth of January all over India as Sholapur Martyrs' Day, it being the anniversary of the execution of the four persons sentenced in connection with the Sholapur riots of 1930. This celebration is at the request of Dr. K. B. Antolikar, President of the Sholapur Taluka Congress Committee.

Bombay Suburban District.—The Ville-Parle Chhawani has been active in the following items of Congress work:—Publication of *Congress Patrikas* and other literature ; liquor prohibition ; foreign cloth boycott and Khadi propaganda ; organisation of Hindustani Seva Dal volunteers; organisation of peasants' conferences and preparation for the no tax campaign under the pretext of economic depression.

The work of the *Chhawani* is typical of Congress propaganda generally in other districts.

Ahmednagar.—Mrs. Lilavati Munshi and S. G. Ranade addressed two meetings at Ahmednagar on December 7 and appealed for funds for the Hindustani Seva Dal camp at Ville-Parle. They deplored the measures taken in Bengal and asked an audience of 3,000 to prepare for the coming struggle. They made the same appeal at Kopargaon on December 8. Similar speeches were made in this district by B. M. Gupte and D. V. Gokhale of Poona and other speakers from the district.

Pachalegaonkar addressed an audience of about 300 at Rahuri and appears to have evoked considerable enthusiasm. His speech, and usual, is difficult to follow, it being very disjointed and in parables. The general trend of it appears to have been distinctly anti-European, as the following extract will show :—" We are getting eaten up by white ants, the measure against them is Salt Satyagraha— If purification is not made by sermons we are going to make it by weapons. "

East Khandesh.—16 meetings for the week ending December 5 and 12 in the following week, mostly in connection with the suspension of land revenue.

Nasik.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" There are indications that the local Congress workers are making special efforts so as to be prepared in case they receive orders from the All-India Congress Working Committee to resume the Civil Disobedience Movement after Gandhi's return. "

Poona--The Poona District Peasants' Conference was held in Poona city, on December 13, with A. V. Kate presiding and 500 attending. A noticeable lack of interest in the proceedings was a feature of the conference.

Satara.-Nine meetings, three of which were convened by local propagandists paid by the Congress. At one meeting Atmaram Patil of Walwa told his audience not to bow to British tyranny but to make blood flow like water. They should destroy their enemies and be prepared to use weapons and wield lathis like the Police. Speaker after speaker indulged in objectionable speeches at this meeting.

Ratnagiri.—N. P. Pai speaking at Ratnagiri on December 12, prophesied a renewal of the Civil Disobedience Movement within a short period. V. G. Apte speaking at Ratnagiri on December 14 advised boys to leave the schools and join the Civil Disobedience Movement despite the displeasure of their parents.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 2

January 9, 1932.

108, Jawaharlal Nehru's visit of Sholapur :

Sholapur, December 26, 1931.—On December 20, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed a mass meeting at Sholapur. The audience was estimated at 15,000 but it did not seem to exceed 8,000. Most of the people present also appeared to be more of sightseers than real sympathisers. Before speaking Nehru was garlanded and presented with an address by Dr. K. B. Antrolikar who presided. Nehru made a very guarded speech in Hindi, in which he recalled the part played by Sholapur last year and the hanging of the four innocent Sholapur men in January 1931. As regards the latter, he said that the death sentence passed did not concern him so much as the absolute refusal of Government to intervene inspite of the appeal of the whole Indian nation on behalf of the men sentenced. He then said that owing to the numerous tyrannies practised by Government, it was absolutely necessary to put an end to the present system of Government or die in the attempt, no other alternative was now possible. He emphasised the necessity of non-violence, saying that violence would only ruin their cause. Peaceful satyagraha, on the other hand, was sure to succeed. Even Government are beginning to realise this, and are therefore trying to create factions : and as they have not met with much success in this direction, they have started repression. This however, is only an indication of their weakness, and will eventually lead to their downfall, provided Indians are firm in their satyagraha. If Indians fail, however, it will mean their destruction. He reminded the audience to the oath they had taken two years ago to free themselves, and told them that the present truce would soon end and the fight would be started again. He said that the Government had

already started the struggle again in Bengal, the United Provinces and the North-West Frontier Province : but that, although no general decision regarding the renewal of the struggle could be given by Congress until the return of M. K. Gandhi, he himself had decided to return to the United Provinces and face the consequences there. He concluded by saying that he was pleased to see that last year's martial law had not disheartened the people of Sholapur. He felt sure that martial law would again be declared, and in the event of that he hoped that they would acquit themselves creditably. He said that the coming fight would be more severe than the last, and that in all probability all the leaders would be arrested at the outset. If such were the case every man would have to be his own leader.

112. Maharashtra Provincial Congress Conference at Panvel:

The open session commenced on January 2. 250 delegates attended on the first day and the total attendance was about 1,500, including only about 100 local agriculturists, who were admitted free of admission fee. The Conference was fairly representative and the delegates included N. C. Kelkar, L. B. Bhopatkar, S. M. Joshi, Dr. S. V. Ketkar, D. V. Gokhale, N. V. Gadgil, V. V. Sathe, H. V. Tulpule, all of Poona : Balubhai Mehta of West Khandesh ; V. V. Dastane of East Khandesh : B. G. Kher, Dr. N. D. Savarkar and Gokulbhai Bhat from Bombay Suburban District: Dr. K. B. Antrolkar and Ramkrishna Jaju from Sholapur : S. K. Patil of Bombay : Harirao Deshpande from the Berar : S. G. Ranade, secretary of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, and Vishnu Ramrao Patil, secretary of the Sholapur Youth League.

There was no Muhammadan element present except about five local Bohras who came as interested visitors. The conference did not deal with any local or provincial issue except the revival of the Civil Disobedience Campaign.

The following is the list of the resolutions passed :—

(1) Expressing gratitude to Mr. Gandhi for all his services. (2) Expressing the opinion that the reasons given by the Working Committee for restarting the Civil Disobedience Movement were sufficient and that the Provincial Congress Committee should immediately begin its work of organisation. (3) Expressing gratitude to P. M. Bapat, ex-president of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee. (4) Congratulating Babu Subhash Chandra Bose on securing the honour of being the first offering in our war.

The speech of the President elect Mr. M. S. Aney was to the effect that Maharashtra should play its part in the future struggle and help India to present a united front. Although the Working Committee desired to avoid the struggle, it was being forced upon it against its will by the acts of Government. He said " before the ink on the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was dry acts were being committed by the bureaucracy with the intention of scrapping it." He made a special appeal to youths to take part and to observe non-violence. The delegates showed anxiety to get the Conference over as quickly as possible so that they might return to their own districts and make arrangement in anticipation of arrests.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 3

January 16, 1932.

180. Sessions of Maharashtra Provincial Conference :

Kolaba, January 2.—The Maharashtra Provincial Conference was preceded by a Swadeshi Exhibition opened on December 27 by Gangadhar Balkrishna Deshpande supported by S. D. Deo. S. C. Bose (who paid a flying visit to Panvel for the purpose) and a number of local leaders.

The open sessions concluded on the morning of January 3. and the leaders hastily dispersed to their destinations. Throughout the Conference, there was an atmosphere of tension, owing to the rapid march of political events and as a result, the proceedings were more hasty and carried less importance, perhaps than would otherwise have been the case.

Extracts from the speech made by Atmaram Mahadeo Athavane (Atavane), chairman of the Reception Committee at the 8th Sessions of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Conference, held at Panvel on 2 and 3 January 1932.

" Leaving aside the Chirner affair, other forest satyagrahas in this district affected the administration of the Government and it may be as a result of this that the Chirner satyagraha ended in firing. The Chirner affair would require a separate chapter in the history of the movement in the country. I do not want to say anything about it as it is fresh in your memory : but here I cannot but remember those seven persons who fell victims unnecessarily. The attention of the whole of the nation was then attracted to the criminal case under all horrible sections of I. P. C. against the Congress leaders who saved the lives of Government servants at the risk of their own lives. Today I want to make some suggestions. You should take into consideration the necessity of pulling aside the disputable questions such as Hindus and Mahammadans, Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, touchables and untouchables and landlords and tenants when the critical fight has begun between the Government on one side and its subjects on the other; these questions will automatically be solved when the fight ends satisfactorily. The untouchables should bear in mind that this is not the time to show black flags to Mahatma Gandhi. "

Extracts from the speech made by the president M. S. Aney :—

" The responsibility of carrying out the fight for independence lies on youths who obliged the Working Committee to adopt such a resolution (at the Lahore Congress Session). It is for the youths to settle to what extent they should carry on the movement. I am positive that they would not fall back. However, they should remain within the limit laid down by the Congress. "

" We have to defeat the enemy and to achieve the goal of independence without arms. Satyagraha is the only weapon for it which is non-violent. Those who would like to go by this path, must have some training in *shibirs* which were started last year at different places. *Ashrams* are necessary for giving such training to lakhs of persons. When such trained persons take part in the fight of Civil Disobedience Movement, then only will the way of achieving independence be easy. There is no other road but to stick to the principle of non-violence. The fight is not against a handful of civilians or the army of 2½ lakh of persons, but it is a fight between 33 crores of Indians with the 5 crores of British people in England. Today the power is not solely in the hands of the Governor-General but it is in the hands of 5 crores of people in England. This British rule is just like a demon with whose drops of blood many demons come into existence. The British rule is such as they would replace men every day till their population of 5 crores is over. This administration does not belong to cowardly persons but it belongs to persons who are selfish and bold. For the last 50 or 75 years so many persons are being killed in the Frontier Provinces but their places are filled and the administration is going on. Youths should understand the nature of the fight. The history of Ireland does not apply here. It is not possible for us to achieve the objective like Ireland with the help of arms. The people should not be afraid of the law. If this administration is to be done away with the fear of the law, which exists in the minds of the general public, should be removed. I ought to have praised you first for the self-sacrifice you did at Chirner and Sholapur. "

" It is the duty of students to come to the rescue of the mother-country by leaving aside their studies."

" I am of opinion that the Working Committee has been compelled to renew the fight against their wishes. They had also to pass the resolution against their wishes. It should be remembered that the Working Committee wanted to keep up the truce. But the Government did not like the Congress and hence they have challenged you for the fight. In three provinces ordinances have been promulgated on the lines for Martial Law. "

" Some of those who had been to the Round Table Conference are labouring under the impression that India has got 14 annas of Swaraj, but in my opinion it does not amount to even 4 annas. "

"The Working Committee has decided not to practise social boycott. The National Congress has asked the whole of the world to come to our help as the fight we have started is altogether different. The whole of the world is looking towards you. We are trying to defeat the enemy by our non-violent methods "

" Without waiting for the reply from the Viceroy you may take this to be the signal for war and be prepared for the same. "

182. Proceedings of the Indian Christian Conference, :

Poona, January 2.—The 17th Annual Indian Christian Conference was held in the Empire Cinema on December 28 and 29 under the presidency of Principal N. Jordan of the Parkar High School, Muradabad. Resolutions were passed congratulating Gandhi on his safe return ; approving of the commission appointed by the Round Table Conference to work out India's future ; expressing dissatisfaction at the premature arrest of Jawaharlal Nehru ; demanding joint electorates with reserved seats ; requesting Christian youths to help the present movement and to undergo some sacrifices for the liberation of India ; and requesting Government to stop arrests and create a peaceful atmosphere for the smooth future working of the Round Table Conference ; demanding the withdrawal of Ordinances and the release of Jawaharlal Nehru, etc: condemning the terrorists for their murderous acts ; requesting the Congress not to start the non-tax and other aggressive movements immediately, but to maintain peace as there were certain hopes of a compromise ; etc. The attendance was 75 the first day and 100 on the second.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 5

January 30, 1932.

275. *Nasik.*— 13 meetings, important ones being Yeola, January 10 (15,000), January 12 (1,000), January 13 (1,200), January 14 (2,000) and January 15 (2,000); all organised to carry on Congress propaganda by either Congress Volunteers or members. The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" The timely arrest and removal of the principal Congress leaders under clause 3 (1) of Ordinance II has proved very effective in nipping projected agitation in the bud and has been followed up by the prompt arrest and conviction of leaders, particularly in Nasik city, Niphad taluka and Yeola under section 17(1) of the C. L. A. Act and Section 18 of the Indian Press Act, 1931."

Ahmednagar.—Six meetings with attendances in Ahmednagar city from two to three thousand.

The speakers urged Government servants to join the Civil Disobedience Movement and boycott British goods.

Poona.—Two women have been taking prominent part at meetings, Mrs. Yashodabai Bhat and Mrs. Laxmibai Thuse, dictator of the Congress Committee. Roy Day was celebrated by the Maharashtra Youth League by a meeting on January 16 (2,000). The speakers referred to the life and work of M. N. Roy and remarked that " though Roy differed from the Congress yet he worked towards the same end — the freedom of India."

Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 6

February 6, 1932.

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333. *Thana, January 23.*—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" The situation in the district, as a whole, continues to be fairly quiet. While the talukas in the interior which are usually inhabited by ignorant and poor agriculturists show no activity in the coastal regions the Congressmen have slowly begun to recover from the effect of the first onslaught of the Ordinances.

Though they have not yet been able to decide upon any line of concerted action, they have begun to think that, in order to save the face of Congress, they must do something and with that in view several persons are now coming forward individually to defy the law in one form or other and to court arrest. The main idea underlying their action is to help as much as possible to create and maintain a high pitch of excitement, both local and All-India. That the excitement is not as manifest as they desire is due more to the fear of the Ordinances by the general public than to the lack of general sympathy towards the Congress."

Bombay Suburban District, January 23.—Vigorous attempts were made at Vile-Parle to induce people to take part in demonstration but the public in general are not inclined to do so.

Ahmednagar, January 23.—The District Superintendent of Police writes:—" Apart from an attempt at picketing at Belapur, which led to the arrest of two people, no activity has been displayed in the district."

Nasik, January 23.—The District Superintendent of Police writes :—" The situation throughout the district has considerably improved, with the exception of Wadner which is being dealt with and not expected to last long....."

Sholapur, January 2.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—"It will be noticed that very few local people are taking part in the movement. The reason for this may be their heavy fines which are being imposed and collected immediately from local agitators or their relatives, when convicted. "

Satara January 23.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks—" Five Political meetings were held during the week under review as against sixteen in the last week. This larger drop is due to the preventive measures taken by the Police at some of the large towns in dispersing the audience assembled, when it was definitely known that the meetings were going to be held in furtherance of the Congress cause. In consequence of these and other precautionary measures, there has been no political meeting held so far in the district since January 17. "

Kolaba, January 23.—The District Superintendent of Police writes. "The public generally still remain aloof from Congress activities. A few local agitators offered themselves for arrest and prosecution by means of speeches distribution of bulletins, breaches of notices under Section 4 of Ordinance II. etc. A few more arrests were also made under Section 3 of Ordinance II. There is an undercurrent of agitation at Panvel which has not so far taken any active form except for the daily circulation of objectionable bulletins. There are occasional feeble attempts to take out *Prabhatpheries* at Pen and Mahad."

With very few exceptions, agitators have been observing the term of the notices issued on them under Section 4 of Ordinance II. Such persons however, are undoubtedly carrying on the agitation secretly and acting as wirepullers, e.g., D. K. Kunte's house at Alibag has become the rendezvous of persons with Congress tendencies. Similarly, T. N. Bedekar is undoubtedly carrying on his activities at Panvel.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 7

February 13 1932.

386. *THANA.*—The District Superintendent of Police remarks:- The police of Congressmen in the district appears to be that of keeping up the show by putting forward people from time to time for arrest. But local people of any importance are unwilling to come forward as could be seen from the fact that for celebrating the Peshawar Day in Thana the Congressmen had to import one Fattechand kothari, a Marwari, from Bombay side to stand as the dictator of the local Congress Committee. The attitude of the intelligent classes is one of sullenness. "

Bombay Suburban District.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" There is very little apparent local activity— the big idea now seems to be to try and import agitators from Bombay from time to time. This does not seem to be taking on, because there is no local support for them. There was only one meeting at Chembur on January 24 (60). "

Ahmednagar.—The only important celebration was Peshawar Day, January 29, which had an audience of 4,000.

Poona.—Meetings attracted audiences of about 400. Among other things the boycott of kerosene and petrol from British companies was proposed. A meeting of keepers of presses and publishers of newspapers was held on January 24. N. C. Kelkar presiding. Resolutions were passed criticising the enlargement of the Press Act by the addition of Section 63 of Ordinance II of 1932. The District Magistrate circular to presses was also criticised and a resolution passed against it.

Satara.—Attempts were made to celebrate Independence Day January 26 at Wai and Karad but were dispersed by the Police. 13 satyagrahis took part in forest satyagraha at Shirala on January 21, a day earlier than their published date. The District Superintendent of Police remarks—" On the whole with the exception of a few political agitators who are proclaiming themselves as dictators and courting arrest, the movement continues to have practically no support from the public in general in this district. "

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 9

February 27, 1932.

490. S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, February 27 :

Thana.—Six meetings ; Maximum attendance 125. It is possible that in March there will be some attempt to recommence salt satyagraha, as it will be easy to pick up natural salt by then.

Nasik.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" Generally speaking there is no Civil Disobedience Movement in the district worth the name. Isolated efforts by individuals to convene a meeting or hold a flag salutation ceremony do occur occasionally, but there is no real organised effort behind these displays which are the work of either irresponsible youths or some crank who wishes to gain notoriety ".

Poona.—During the week there were no processions or meetings in defiance of the order under Section 144, C. P. C. Some youths and boys made sporadic efforts in various parts of the town to start meetings but these were stopped promptly at the outset.

Satara.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" Mention might be made of a cardboard poster exhibited at Karad on a temple post during the week. The poster contained a warning to the Magistrate that he will be murdered. The movement on the whole lacks support of the public and beyond the doings of a few agitators the situation is quiet."

Ratnagiri.—Loyalty meetings are being organised with good results in rural parts of the district to enlighten ignorant cultivators on the policy of Government and the great harm the Congress movement is doing to the country. The only activity in Vengurla is the distributing of Congress bulletins. It is suspected that these bulletins are being cyclostyled at Savantvadi and brought into Vengurla.

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 12

March 19, 1932.

657. *Thana.*—The District Superintendent of Police remarks—" People are sometimes brought in from outside who offered themselves for arrests under false names with a view to avoid realisation of fines and trace of previous convictions. Boycott of British goods is quietly gaining strength amongst educated people, inspite of the fact that there have been no demonstrations to advocate it. "

Sholapur.—A meeting attended by 300 was held in Sholapur on March 4 when R.G.Jaju presided and was the only speaker. Declaring himself the 24th dictator he said that he was about to be sent to jail for the fourth time. If Sholapur was to be powerful then the movement must be a non-violent one, even though there were lathi charges and firing. If men were not ready to suffer then they could not expect freedom. If the people of Sholapur wish to be real heroes they should go to jail.....

Kolaba.—The District Superintendent of Police remarks :—" The public is keeping aloof of activities, although not altogether unsympathetic towards the Congress. There appears to be a lack of programme and lack of organisation or perhaps fear of the ordinances is responsible for this effect. On the other hand an occasional agitator here and there deliberately breaks the law and goes to jail. "

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Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 14

April 8, 1933.

319. *S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, April 8.*—The *Maratha* newspaper dated the 2nd April has a leading article which offers outspoken advice on the continuance of civil disobedience. It comments on the sporting spirit in which both Congress and Government have carried on the fight with regard to the holding of the Congress session at Calcutta and says—" The fight is practically carried on in a kind of sporting spirit on both sides. It is free from the mysterious terror which accompanies the secret revolutionary movement in Bengal or elsewhere. Beyond the penalty of going to jail for a few days there is no risk involved to the Congress workers in carrying on the fight: and there is no labour involved to Government beyond that of making prompt police arrangement to frustrate the opponent's designs. We have deliberately used the word ' opponent ' because the Congress propagandist is not looked upon as an ' enemy ' by Government, as is positively the case with terrorists and anarchists. "It continues " the Civil Disobedience Movement has arrived at a stage when its leaders should think of changing their tactics.....Surely the Civil Disobedience Movement is not an end in itself. It must be regarded only as a means to an end..... The acceptance of the creed of council-entry by the Congress leaders will at once harmonise all the discordant notes that are heard in the country, some praising the Civil Disobedience Movement and some criticising it. What is really wanted is a broad platform of principle and programme, which will accommodate not only ardent spirits in the destructive movement but also those who are equally ardent on the constructive sides."

These views appear to represent correctly the Maharashtrian attitude at present.

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Annexure I

TOTAL ARRESTED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

Name of District	1932												1933				
	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
Bombay Suburban	22	25	--	13	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	15	11	12	3	1	1
Bandra	27	8	9	19	11	14	120	--	--	2	14	--	--	3	--	--	--
Thana	15	52	34	28	32	24	3	11	2	3	1	4	2	2	--	20	--
Ratnagiri	29	19	20	10	7	14	1	13	--	16	3	4	4	8	3	1	--
Kolaba	26	10	15	20	21	11	21	12	11	9	--	--	--	4	--	1	--
Nasik	27	2	18	15	34	8	8	2	2	7	6	2	--	6	--	12	--
Sholapur	--	17	8	26	32	10	2	18	5	--	4	1	1	3	--	5	--
Poona	19	80	48	63	48	21	29	13	2	1	1	1	3	19	--	8	--
Satara	33	23	4	24	26	13	2	9	5	1	3	6	5	1		7	1
East Khandesh	23	--	6	7	14	8	11	--	18	2	--	3	4	4	2	10	--
West Khandesh	14	20	11	11	27	3	--	2	--	2	1	1	6	--	3	54	11
Ahmednagar	17	29	13	47	26	26	23	8	9	2	--	7	6	2	1	--	1

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

Vol. XLV

No. 39

Nagpur, Saturday, 11 October 1930.

254. General Summary :

With the exception of the Robertson Medical School, the Government educational institutions reopened at Nagpur on the 6 and 8 October. The Congress left the matter of picketing to the student's union and eventually nothing was done. The attendance at first was well over 50 per cent and has since increased steadily. Sherlekar, dictator of the C. P. Marathi War Council, was arrested on the 4 October and has been succeeded by Mrs. Kale¹ ex-M.L.C., who is indulging in a good deal of intemperate speaking. Partial hartal was observed on the 9 October in protest against the killing of the two villagers at Gondia and the conviction of BhagatSingh and others in the Lahore Conspiracy Case. There was a drop of about 50 per cent in the attendance at the colleges, but the mills were practically unaffected and continued to work. A procession of about 7,000 persons, including 500 women, marched through the city and ended with a public meeting under the presidency of the new dictator, Mrs. Kale. Various speakers dilated in glowing terms on the patriotism of the Lahore convicts and pointed out that only a very thin line divided non-violence from actual violence. Though the Congress disapproved of violent methods, they and the revolutionary party both had the same object in view, and Congress could not but appreciate the great sacrifice which BhagatSingh and his companions had made. The Gondia incident was described as an unwarranted assault by the police on innocent villagers. A few speakers condemned the students for permitting the colleges to remain open. Vigorous action continues in the Chanda and Wardha districts, and a further general improvement is reported. There has been no further forest satyagraha in the Marathi districts.

Further considerable improvement is reported from Berar. Meetings have been much fewer and picketing is now generally ineffective. The only attempt at forest satyagraha was made at Yeotmal where, on the 5th October, six men broke the law in the presence of a handful of spectators and were arrested.

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¹ Anasuyabai Kale was a prominent lady worker from Nagpur who later became a Minister in C. P. and then a M. P.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 45

22 November 1930.

275. Congress activities have since then been concentrated on the boycott of the annual excise auctions. At a public meeting in Nagpur on the 20 November 1930. Harkare, the new dictator, explained that Congress policy was now to achieve results without incurring unnecessary losses. In consequence, there was very little serious picketing where sales took place, but strenuous efforts were made before hand to persuade contractors not to bid. At Nagpur, the War Council had a private meeting with about 80 contractors, and induced about half of them to sign an agreement not to bid. Many of these contractors went back on this agreement. Owing to this propaganda, and to losses in last year and to unfavourable economic conditions this year, bidding was below average.

Congress leaders have claimed that the poor percentage of voting at the elections and the low bidding at these auctions is proof of the fact that agitation is still vigorous.....

Reports covering the 16th have been received from Nagpur, Akola, Yeotmal and show that Nehru day was celebrated in all those places. The attendance at meetings numbered 8,000 at Nagpur. and 2,000 at Akola. Extracts from the speech at Allahabad on the 12 October 1930 for which Nehru was convicted, were publicly read out at meetings in each of these places.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 46

29 November 1930.

280. Further reports about the annual excise sales indicate that owing to Congress propaganda and other unfavourable conditions there has been a drop of probably over 30 per cent in excise revenue. The actual picketing, was in most places ineffective and the Congress made itself felt in other ways. There is no doubt that Congress influence is still considerable. The public are asked to recognise one of two masters, and have been clearly told that they cannot serve both. Those who disobey Congress orders are threatened with ruin. The position of Billimoria & Sons in Nagpur is a case in point. Congress had settled with liquor contractors that any contractor who exceeded a bid of 25 per cent of last year's figure would be liable for a fine of Rs. 500 to Congress. Billimoria & Sons who are big contractors dealing in petrol, oil, motors, mill yarn and liquor ignored this settlement, and are now threatened with an intensive boycott. It remains to be seen how far Congress will succeed. Other contractors in Nagpur complied with the Congress order with the result that 80 per cent of the country liquor shops could not be sold. In the Katol tahsil there was no bidding.

At Akola about 400 volunteers picketed the sales, including ladies from Amraoti, Akola and Yeotmal. The loss at these sales was 50 per cent.

The boycott of foreign cloth is about the same. In Nagpur a conference between Congress and merchants on the 27th resulted in no agreement and merchants intend to restart the sale of foreign cloth from December 1st. Foreign cloth is now being sold in Gondia by several dealers and renewed picketing is anticipated.

On 23rd November, Harkare, the Nagpur Congress dictator, was arrested under Section 108 C. P. C. for his action on the 16th and has been sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment. He has been succeeded by Appaji Halde, ex-M. L. C., an old agitator whose record dates from 1907. Halde's place on the C. P. Marathi War Council was taken by Babaji Patel, dictator of Chanda. He was arrested at Chanda on the 26th and was replaced by Yadorao Deshmukh.

The pamphlet *The 8 Days Interlude* has been noticed only at Nagpur and Yeotmal.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 49

20 December 1930.

292. There are indications that attempts are being made to launch a no-tax campaign in the Akola district, and several speakers have referred to this subject in recent speeches. Speakers are taking the line which is likely to appeal to their audiences by advocating the refusal to pay land revenue on economic grounds. A circular advocating this view and containing violently seditious references to Government is being circulated from Malkapur in the Buldana district.

In Amraoti, there was a revival of activity due to the arrival of N. S. Hardikar, a member of the All-India Congress Working Committee and President of the Hindustani Sewa Dal. A belated attempt to take out the Garhwal procession against the District Magistrate's orders on the 12th led to the arrest, under Section 145 C. P. C. of Ozarkar, President of the Berar War Council, and several other leading members ; this was followed by a demonstration in which the police were twice pelted with stones.

In Bhandara, the recent arrests seem to have effected an improvement. Only two small meetings were held. Wardha, Chanda and Yeotmal report less activity. Partial hartals were held at various places as a result of the arrest of V. J. Patel.

Foreign cloth.—Picketing has started at Khamgaon where some dealers had resumed sales. In Nagpur, the position seems about the same. At Gondia, an attempt is being made to work up a special boycott of refractory dealers.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 1

10 January, 1931.

1. There is an outbreak of lawlessness in the Buldana district directed against moneylenders and *sawcars*, who are generally Brahmans or Marwaris. The main cause, however, is discontent of the agricultural population at the low prices of cotton and grain acting on the spirit of lawlessness fostered by the Civil Disobedience Movement. According to one account the preachings of an anti-Brahman party known as the Satya Shodhak is said to have been the immediate cause of the outbreak.

No-tax campaign.—The no-tax campaign continues in Berar. In the Akola district there has been increased activity, and three prominent local agitators, including the secretary of the War Council, have been arrested. The Malkapur circular mentioned in last week's summary was found pasted on the Congress noticeboard in Amraoti city. Yeotmal also reports similar activity by Ozarkar (President, Berar War Council) before his arrest.

In the Central Provinces (Marathi), the *zamindar* and *malguzar* element in the Congress do not appear to favour the movement for obvious reasons. Appaji Halde, President of the War Council, is of this party, but propaganda has started in Nagpur and the other two leaders of the War Council, Kamavisdar and Yadao Rao, have since been arrested and convicted. Propaganda in villages is also being carried on. Similar propaganda is going on in the Chanda district.

The week has been a quiet one in Nagpur city. A series of meetings were convened by the Congress Committee in an effort to revive waning interest, and at one of these meetings. Mrs. Radhabai Oke (Oak) of Akola made a most objectionable speech eulogising the sacrifices of political assassins..... With the lapse of the Intimidation Ordinance, the picketing of cloth shops has been resumed and several shopkeepers have been blackmailed, by a threat of picketing, into paying fines imposed by Congress. Three Muhammadan shopkeepers who with stood these efforts were heavily picketed and their customers annoyed and obstructed, and eventually six of the picketers were arrested for being members of an unlawful assembly.

Volunteers from the Nagpur city have been touring in the interior of the district urging the cultivators to refuse to pay their land revenue. The line they suggest is inability to pay owing to the present economical depression.

The picketing of liquor shops continues in Nagpur city and in four villages.

In Berar, the boycott of Government servants is being persistently advocated.

All the 20 persons arrested on the 12th December 1930 in connection with Garhwal procession at Amraoti have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and fine under Section 145 I. P. C. Dr. Hardikar's attempts at Warur and Jarur to revive Congress agitation were unsuccessful owing to Brahman-non-Brahman differences in this area.

An increase in Congress activity is reported from the Sakoli circle in the Bhandara district.

No-tax-campaign.—Bardoli Day was celebrated on the 21 st December 1930 at all principal places in the C. P. Marathi districts by hartals, processions and meetings to spread propaganda for non-payment of land revenue.

In Berar there has been increased activity. The Buldana District Agricultural Conference attended by about 10,000 persons was held at Nandura on the 31st December under the presidency of Jamnadas Mehta of Bombay. Resolutions asking for revised assessments and remission of land revenue and *taccavi* in full this year were adopted. A committee of 13 persons was appointed to devise means to make the collection of revenue impossible unless Government agreed to these demands by the 20th January 1931. Jamnadas expressed his readiness to come and lead the movement.

At Akola a public meeting of cultivators was held on the 4 January 1931 under the Presidency of B. G. Khaparde.¹ M. L. C. About 5,000 persons attended. Resolutions on the lines of the Buldana Conference were passed. A resolution opposing any new taxation was also adopted..... Speeches on similar lines were made at other public meetings in the Buldana, Amraoti and Yeotmal districts.

Picketing of cloth shops.—The picketing of cloth shops in Nagpur city continues and nine persons including eight women have been arrested under Section 341 or 143. Negotiations are now proceeding between the Congress and the Merchants's Association.

Eleven foreign cloth merchants of Chanda did not agree to Congress seals and their shops were, therefore, picketed on the 3 January 1931. They caved in and stocks were sealed for another month.

Foreign cloth shops are being picketed at Wardha, Hinganghat and Arvi.

Shopkeepers in Amraoti city except a few Muhammadan merchants are reported to have decided to stop the sale of foreign goods. Picketing of one of the Muhammadan shops began on the 1 January 1931, but so far sales have not been affected.

At Khamgaon, a meeting of Muhammadans condemned the picketing of a Muhammadan cloth shop and it was decided to invite some Bombay Kachhi to open a foreign cloth shop in Khamgaon and deal with picketers as occasion should arise. It was also decided that all other Muhammadan cloth merchants should break their seals and sell foreign cloth openly.

Liquor picketing.—Picketing of Billimoria's concerns has not materialised for want of volunteers. His new liquor shop in the city is selling well. Ramtek in the Nagpur district and Hinganghat in the Wardha district report some obstruction to contractors removing liquor from warehouses. The offences are under investigation. Sales of Sindi liquor at Mul (Chanda) have dropped as a result of picketing started there on the 25 December 1930. Picketing of the liquor shop at Yeotmal was started on the 4 January 1931.

¹He formed Vidarbha Sahitya Sangh in 1923. Edited a Marathi Journal *Udaya*. He was Minister for Education (1934-36) in the Central Provinces.

General.—There has been no recrudescence of lawlessness in the Buldana district.

Appaji Halde, Dictator of the C. P. Marathi Provincial Congress Committee, who has been active lately in the Nagpur, Wardha, Bhandara and Chanda Districts, was arrested on the 9 January 1931 under Section 18 of Ordinance No. X of 1930.

In general Congress workers on release from jail seem to be avoiding rearrest, but there can be little doubt that they are secretly active.

Nagpur observed complete hartal on the occasion of Muhammad Ali's death. There was a procession of 3,000. There meetings of sympathy were held, the largest attracting 5,000. Congress workers and Muhammadans participated.

Obliteration of Census numbers on houses is reported from Wardha and Arvi. Three boys who obliterated the numbers on police quarters at Wardha are being prosecuted. The local Congress Committee has disowned them.

In Bhandara the District Council schoolmasters are reported to be acting openly as Congress agents.

Probably to revive waning interest, a public meeting attended by 2,000 persons was held at Chanda on the 29 December 1930. The speakers included Appaji Halde, President, C. P. Marathi War Council. Inciting speeches were made with particular emphasis on boycott of foreign goods. Nothing permanent appears to have resulted from the proceedings.

At Yeotmal Professor Abhyankar of Poona Law College spoke at two public meetings on the form of Swaraj to be expected from the Round Table Conference and recommended the Swiss system of Government as a suitable model for India.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 2

17 January, 1931.

9. No-tax campaign.—Further meetings advocating non-payment of land revenue have been held in the Akola district.

In the C. P. Marathi and Hindi districts, cultivators are being advised to express their inability to pay land revenue and to petition the Government for remission.

Picketing of foreign cloth shops.—On the 8 January, 1931, three cloth merchants at Warora (Chanda) started selling foreign cloth but agreed to stop sales when approached by volunteers.

On the 10 January 1931, the cloth shop of a Marwari at Hinganghat (Wardha), who had begun to sell foreign cloth, was partially burnt. There was considerable damage. There seems no doubt that this was a deliberate act to punish the Marwari for disobeying Congress orders.

Census.—A few spasmodic attempts to interfere with Census operations are reported from Bhandara district.

General.—Appasaheb Halde, ex-President of the C. P. Marathi War Council, has been sentenced to 6 month's R.I. and a fine of Rs. 200. He has been succeeded by Pandhari pande, of Betul, who has recently been acting as secretary of the C. P. Marathi War Council.

To protest against the Sholapur executions a partial hartal was observed at Nagpur on 15 January, 1931 followed by a procession and a meeting of about 2,500 persons. The speeches were on the usual lines.

Condolence meetings, hartals and processions on account of Mr. Muhammad Ali's death are reported from most districts.

M. S. Aney has been released from Seoni jail. He had a fair reception on his return to the Yeotmal district. The municipality presented him with an address at a meeting of 4,000 persons. Aney's speech was non-committal. He said he would decide the future programme after consultation with Biyani ¹ at Amraoti and Motilal Nehru at Allahabad.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 3

24 January, 1931.

14. No-tax campaign.—Several villages in the Manora station-house of the Akola district have combined in an application to the Deputy Commissioner for Suspension of Land Revenue intimating that if Government insists on payment they will decline to pay in cash.

Action is under contemplation against agitators in the Buldana district who have incited cultivators, either by speeches or house-to-house visits, not to pay land revenue.

In the Nagpur district, stereotyped resolutions about inability to pay revenue are in circulation in several station houses. They are obviously the work of Congress.

All these three districts have since been declared by the Local Government Notified Areas for the purposes of the Unlawful Instigation (Second) Ordinance, 1930 (XI of 1930).

The villagers of Jalgaon in the Arvi station-house circle of the Wardha district, are being stirred by agitators and the District Superintendent of Police reports that " possibly the Congress wants to make it a starting point ".

¹ Brijlal Biyani (1896-1968) strove hard for the growth and popularity of Congress in Central India. He was a member of the Provincial Legislature (1926-29) and President of Vidarbha Provincial Congress Committee (1935-48).

Picketing of foreign cloth shops.—In Nagpur city, cloth merchants have compromised with Congress. That is, they have promised not to sell foreign cloth, but have refused to seal their stocks and sales continue. Nine picketers were arrested during the week. At Kuhi (Nagpur) a cloth shop was picketed for not observing a hartal and seven arrests were made.

Khaddar.—A Khadi Bhandar at Khamgaon (Buldana) and an ashram for khadi spinning and weaving at a village Nandura in the same district have been opened.

Liquor picketing.—Picketing of liquor shops in Nagpur city is nominal. In the interior of the district there were threats of molestation at Ramtek and at Umred a number of toddy trees were felled and sindi shop was forced to close down. Several arrests are about to be made.

Picketing has been slightly intensified in the Buldana and Akola districts after the death of Gore Pleader. At Akola purchasers are beginning to adopt a more resolute attitude.

General.—With the reintroduction of the News Sheet ordinance, Congress bulletins are being regularly seized in Nagpur city. Sakharam Joshi, an ex-student, who now figures as the publisher of the bulletins is being prosecuted. The Police have not yet been able to seize the cyclostyle machine used for producing these bulletins. On the 18th, a head constable seizing Congress bulletins was assaulted by a number of persons who rushed out of the Congress office. Arrests have been made under Section 147.

Pandharipande, President of the War Council, is being prosecuted under Section 108 C. P. C. for a strong speech made by him on Sholapur Day.

Independence Week was inaugurated in Nagpur on the 18th. This will consist in Nagpur. of a series of nightly meetings ending in a hartal, procession and meeting on the 26th.....

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 19

16 May 1931.

131. C. P. dated for the week ending 9 May 1931.—Meetings have been few and in most cases unimportant. More attention is being paid to other means of propaganda.....Dr. Hardikar of the Hindustani Sewa Dal, attended the 10th anniversary of the Khamgaon National School with W. R. Joshi. Dr. Patwardhan and other leaders.

W. R. Joshi addressed a large meeting at Talegaon in the Wardha district on the 5 May 1931 and has revived anti-Government feeling in that area, where conditions had been improving.

134. Arms Act Satyagraha : Nagpur, 9-5-1931—On May 1st Awari¹ inaugurated intensive picketing of foreign cloth shops in the city. This has continued ever since, and on two occasions the movements of bales of cloth have been impeded. Threatening letters have also been sent by order of Mr. Awari to the City Superintendent and one Sub-Inspector, and to most of the merchants, reminding them respectively of the fates of Saunders, and Agha of Benares. On the 6th a dagger was found in the City Superintendent's quarters with a paper inscribed " By order of H. H. Mr. Awari" Nightly meetings have been held in furtherance of his activities, and on two occasions Awari has been publicly presented with a sword. He attends all meetings armed. On the 4th he was accorded a civic welcome, at which G. B. Parekh presented him with a silver casket.

The movement is not supported by Congress, and on 2nd M. V. Abhyankar had a long interview with Awari and tried his best to dissuade him from pursuing his activities which were not in accordance with the pact, but without avail. At a public meeting in honour of leaders and volunteers on the 4th, at which both Awari and Abhyankar were present. Abhyankar and Kanitkar roundly denounced Awari's activities.

Following the intense picketing, eight arrests of Awari's principal followers were made on the 1st, including Abdul Rahman and Abhimanyu but Purshottam Mahajan absconded. On the 7th Awari and two others were arrested.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 22

13 June 1931.

166. *C. P. for the week ending the 6 June 1931.*—District reports make it still more clear that Congress is concentrating on stirring up agitation among the agriculturists..... Except for this there have been few political meetings.

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167. *(V) Bhandara. 10-6-1931.*—A conference of agriculturists was held at Sakoli on the 1 June 1931. The attendance was 2,000. The chief organisers were Tembekar, pleader of Sakoli, Pathak of Bhandara and Umrao Singh of Kaneri. Mr. Salve of Nagpur was to have presided but as he did not turn up. Chaturbhuj of Gondia occupied the chair.

¹ Manchershaw Awari figured in the leadership in C. P. & Berar after flag Satyagraha of Nagpur in 1923. He led the " sashastra andolan " in protest against Government ban on arms. When the Congress was outlawed, he took lead in organising Republican Army in 1932. and since then he was termed as General Awari.

Mr. Tembekar, the president of the reception committee, explained to the audience the object of this conference by stating that though Sakoli tahsil was backward in respect of politics, in the last satyagraha movement it has sent 30 to 40 persons to jail from 11 villages. He then spoke of the agriculturists' sad plight owing to crop failure and the fall in prices of the food-stuffs. Yet Government did not give remission. He accused Government servants of trying to impress upon tenants that Congress and its activities were responsible for this state of things..... He said that on the other hand the Congress leader, Mahatma had demanded 50 per cent reduction in the land revenue. The fight was for the cause of the country and so they should suffer the misery with patience. Success was sure in the end, if they would unite like the Bardoli people.

The following are some of the resolutions passed :—

" The Conference approves the truce, condemns the Government for failing to give remission : requests the Government to allow free grazing, *nistar*, free right of use over mahua produce, etc.....

The President then exhorted them to follow the example set by the Bardoli people in case the Government failed to fulfil the demand next year.

Last year Kaneri was one of the centres of civil disobedience and Umrao singh Johari, the leading agitator, arranged this conference at Kaneri to prepare the people of surrounding villages for future agitation. The conference was successful in enlisting the support of the people for the Congress.

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(1) *Buldana, 6-6-1931.*—The advertised conference was held at Khamgaon on the 1st and 2nd of June. About 5,000 persons attended the conference.

The proceedings started on the 1st after the usual national songs. Dr. Parasnis proposed and Waman Gopal Joshi seconded Vallabhbhai Patel, to the chair. Then Rao Bahadur K.J. Deshmukh, presented an address to him on behalf of the Municipal Committee of Khamgaon in his capacity as the chairman of that body..... The long and short of Vallabhbhai Patel's speech was that they should all observe the terms of the truce religiously and should not infringe them unless and until they were forced by the Government to do it. He advised them all to prepare themselves for the coming war which would be started if they did not get what they wanted in the Round Table Conference. Nothing short of Swaraj would satisfy them and the next war, if started, would be very severe. He then had a dig at the European merchants of Calcutta, saying that they wanted to rule over them with the help of arms and Musalmans but he warned them that no nation could rule over another by force of arms. If half the population of India were to die in the struggle, there would be more room for the other half to live in better conditions and the Government would also realise the value of ruling with bullets. He then deprecated the differences between the capitalists and labourers and Brahmins and Non-Brahmins of Berar and said that they should sink their misunderstanding for the cause of the country. He then blamed the Government for the forest Laws and liquor shops and said that instead of having schools for the education of the children of kisans in every village, government was making money by the sale of liquor. He also advised people to use khadi and spin their own thread. He added that they had not made sufficient sacrifices in the last battle and they must be prepared to dishonourable deaths, if necessary, in future.

Korde then announced that a Swadeshi Bazaar had been opened.

In the evening on 2nd the proceedings were again started at about 7 p.m. Bobde, Pleader, presented an address on behalf of the Khamgaon Taluqa Board. Dr. Parasnis then read out following resolutions :

1. Condolence on the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Gore pleader and others.
2. Appreciation of the bravery and patriotism of Bhagat Singh and others and indignation at the action of Government in executing them.
3. Appreciation of all who had taken part in the Civil Disobedience Movement and supported by Durgatai Joshi. They also spoke on the boycott of foreign cloth and liquor, etc, and Patwardhan said that what they had achieved by the boycott, could be known by the speeches of Churchill.
4. Gandhi-Irwin pact to be respected by all and efforts to be made to observe the terms.
5. In this Province Gandhi-Irwin truce terms are not being observed as the Provincial Committee requests the District Committees to make enquiries about it, and send in their reports.
6. Demanding release of Ogle, editor of *Maharashtra*, Nagpur, as truce had been declared.
7. Demanding that the ban on entry of Panchlegaonkar into the Bombay Presidency, should be removed.

NOTE BY THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER.—The Berar Political Provincial Conference was an attempt to revive political agitation. In spite of the presence of a host of agitators from Berar and of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel to preside at the conference, it excited little enthusiasm, and the convenors of the conference failed in their object in convening it.

Mr. Patel appears to have made some frank remarks which were resented by some agitators. The political situation was proof against the incitement which a conference of this type might have been expected to lead to and is now in no way worse than it was before the conference.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 1

9 Januray, 1932.

/ C. P. for the weeks ending 19-12-1931, 26-12-1931 and 2-1-1932.— There has been a general increase in agitation, in anticipation of Gandhi's return and especially since the arrest of Congress leaders from December 26th.

The Congress campaign against the payment of land revenue has been strong in Berar, where it has probably had considerable effect.....

In general, speakers have been careful to insist that they are not advocating a no-tax campaign but are merely helping cultivators to vent a legitimate grievance in protesting against the scale of crop valuation by Government officials.

Hartals and meetings have been more or less general as a result of the arrests of Congress leaders, and there has been much activity especially in Nagpur and Berar. In C. P. Marathi and Berar, Congress Committees have been replaced by War Councils and in Nagpur merchants have been given till January 10th to burn or seal their stocks of foreign cloth.

It is understood that some of the students of the Science College, Nagpur, have left to join the movement but information is incomplete.

No great change in the number of recruits of Hindustani Seva Dal is reported. The Akola camp broke up automatically after the 27 December.

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5. *S. B., C. P., 5-1-1932.*—At a meeting convened on the evening of the 3rd instant, Punamchand Ranka¹ announced the receipt of information that Vallabhbhai Patel had been arrested at Bombay. It was thereupon decided to have a hartal on 4th ostensibly as a protest against the repressive policy of Government. The hartal yesterday was partial in the forenoon, but on receipt of information during the afternoon of Mr. Gandhi's arrest practically all the Hindu shops closed. Muhammadan shops, however, remained open. The Model Mills closed down, but the employees of the Empress Mills worked as usual even after being informed during the dinner hour of Mr. Gandhi's arrest.

During the afternoon there was a private meeting of the C. P. Marathi Provincial Congress Committee. It was resolved to dissolve the committee and to form a War Council to conduct the civil disobedience agitation. Barrister Abhyankar was elected President. Punamchand Ranka, Secretary, Bhagwandin Sharma², Treasurer and officer-in-charge of volunteers with S. T. Dharmadhikari and R V. Dangre as members.

A large meeting was held after sunset in the Chitnavis Park. The attendance is reported to have been about 10,000. Muhammadans were, however, conspicuous by their absence. Barrister Abhyankar, in his introductory speech, represented the fight as being forced on an unwilling Congress by Government. The challenge, he declared, had been accepted by Congress and the war would be a fight to the

¹ Under the spell of Gandhiji's call of boycott of foreign cloth Punamchand Ranka (1878-1973) closed down His business of foreign cloth in 1920. He lent financial support to flag Satyagraha at Nagpur and actively participated in it. He successfully led Jungle Satyagraha in Berar. He was President of Provincial Congress organisation for 13 years.

² Bhagwandin. a Marwari ex-railway employee from Aligarh was appointed by Bajaj as a Supervisor of Nagpur Ashram.

finish. The first item in the Congress programme was the boycott of foreign cloth. A week would be spent in inducing shopkeepers to burn their stock of foreign goods. He appealed to shopkeepers to do this now voluntarily instead of being compelled to do so later on under the pressure of circumstances. If shopkeepers proved obdurate, picketing would be resorted to from the 10th instant. His speech on the whole was guarded. Bhagwandin likened the rule of India by ordinances to the sway of dacoits.

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5. (ii) *Yeotmal, 29-12-1931.*—Two Pargana Parishads were held in Patan and Pisgaon station-houses on 6th and 13th December and although the main subject was concerned with the agricultural distress, there were several objectionable remarks by local leaders of non-descript type, which may be considered as part of the no-revenue movement started by the Congress leaders.

NOTE BY THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER--Such conferences are held all over the district by the agents of the Congress and the notorious district association. The object is to prepare the ground for an eventual campaign of non-payment of land revenue. The low outturn of cotton provides a fertile ground for this agitation.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 2

16 Januray, 1932.

22. (1) *C. P. for the week ending 9-1-1932.*--With the renewal of the Civil Disobedience Movement there has been a general increase in Congress activity. The centres most affected are Nagpur, Wardha, Amraoti, Akola..... Counter-action in Nagpur prevented any serious developments so far, and the Congress has not yet successfully developed any of the lines of action chalked out by the All-India Congress Committee. In Berar, Congress leaders are moving slowly to the annoyance of some of the younger men. The older leaders seem to doubt if Congress is ready to renew Civil Disobedience Movement. In other districts, in particular in Wardha District, activities have taken the form of seditious meetings. In many cases the lead is being taken by younger men and it is these who now seem likely to the most trouble. In some places former leaders are not openly active.....

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26. The Congress Office, the Tilak Vidyalaya and the Gandhi Ashram at Nagpur were notified by the Local Government on 9 January 1932, as they were used for the purpose of unlawful associations.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 3

23 January, 1932.

41. *C. P. for the week ending the 16 January 1932.*—There have been no important developments. In Nagpur city picketing began on the 10th and ceased on the 15th after 44 arrests had been made. Volunteers are scarce. Hindu dealers are uncertain in their attitude towards the boycott. Muhammadan dealers oppose it. On 10th the Tilak Vidyalaya was seized and 64 male and 10 female volunteers found inside were arrested. On the 14th the Asahayog Ashram ' was seized. These two places had been used as local Congress headquarters. Most of the office records had been removed but some of the papers found indicate how Communist ideas are permeating Congress ranks. On the 13th the War Council issued a printed manifesto, reproducing the All-India Congress Committee's resolution of December 31st. A daily *Congress Bulletin* started on the 16th. The quantity and quality of dictators in Nagpur is falling off. Meetings are poorly attended. Congress leaders keep away and the audiences consist of Wanar Sena boys and riff-raff. In the interior there has been activity at Umred and Ramtek and the land revenue question has been discussed at four centres.

In Wardha district there has been vigorous agitation especially in Hinganghat where rigorous picketing began on the 11th and most dealers have sealed their stocks of foreign cloth. The local Hinganghat leaders have continued to make the most objectionable speeches.

Berar Division—*Amraoti.*—There were two large meetings on the 12th and 14th of about 3,000 people to urge boycott and to protest against the sentences passed on Abhyankar and Punamchand which have caused surprise. Dr Patwardhan was arrested on the 16th.

Akola.—The District Superintendent of Police reports a much quieter week. However a number of meetings have been held throughout the district including large ones in Akola and Akot in which the usual speeches have been made.

Yeotmal.—On 15 January 1932, Aney and Damle, local members of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee, at a public meeting, openly advocated the boycott of British goods. The position is uncertain. The Marwaris and monied classes do not seem keen on supporting the boycott and are trading as usual. On the whole the district has been fairly quiet.

¹ Bajaj extended Gandhiji's influence among students by founding Tilak Vidyalaya and Asahayog Ashram at Nagpur. The Ashram trained students as agitators and volunteers. Bhagwandin was appointed as Supervisor of this Ashram.

Buldana.—There has been much activity especially in the Khamgaon sub-division under V. G. Korde, Dr. Parasnis and Kanade Shastri. Enlistment of volunteers in Khamgaon is brisk. Liquor shops have been picketed and foreign cloth dealers have been warned to seal their stocks. Speakers have recommended boycott, and either directly or indirectly the non-payment of land revenue. On 10 January 1932 an agrarian conference was held in Buldana. About 2,000 persons attended and resolutions about reduction of land revenue were passed. Congress agitators took no open part although they ran the whole show. Many meetings have been held.

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Ordinances.—The War Councils at Wardha, Hinganghat and Arvi were declared unlawful on 13th January 1932 under the Criminal Law Amendment Act..... The Asahayog Ashram, Nagpur, was notified under Ordinance No. IV as it was used for the purposes of unlawful association on 13 January 1932.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 4

30 January, 1932.

52. *C. P. for the week ending 23-1-1932—Nagpur.*—There was ineffective picketing in the city on three days and 17 arrests have been made. The bulletin continues to issue and its source has not yet been traced. Wanar Sena activities have stopped. Prominent Congressmen are working behind the scenes. Hartals and other activities including picketing since the 5th instant are reported from ten centres in the district. Saraf bazaar, Nagpur, observed hartal from 19th/23rd owing to trade conditions in Bombay.

Wardha.—There has been much activity with meetings throughout the district. There was rigorous picketing of foreign cloth shops at Hinganghat on the 11th and 12th and all merchants there have now sealed their stocks. The liquor shop at Wardha was rigorously picketed from 12th. On the 19th Ghatwai, Choudhary, Bhimanwar and Muzumdar were arrested at Hinganghat in the face of a large crowd who had to be kept off the small Police party with canes. On the 20th Sheoraj Churiwalla, Shrawane and Thatte were arrested at Wardha. A seditious pamphlet, printed at Hinganghat, is in circulation.

Chanda.—Two speakers have advocated violence. The Congress accounts books at Chanda and Warora have been taken to Nagpur. There have been no open Congress meetings and picketing has not begun. In Chanda town merchants have sealed their stocks of foreign cloth. No arrests.

Amraoti.—Dr. Patwardhan and his wife have been arrested and convicted. This resulted in some protest meetings, etc., but the district on the whole is quiet.

Akola.—Congress activity is increasing. Picketing started at two centres on the 21st and 22nd. Propaganda is going on at all the centres and there have been many meetings including one of 6,000 at Akola. Many of the speeches have been objectionable. Application of ordinances is overdue. Congress leaders have been taking an active part, including M. S. Aney from Yeotmal.

Buldana.—Picketing began at various centres and all Khamgaon leaders have been arrested. District fairly quiet but difficulty is anticipated in the collection of revenue, chiefly owing to economic conditions.

Yeotmal.—Aney and Damle (President, D. C. C.), have been active and agitation is spreading. There have been no arrests.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 5

6 February, 1932.

66. *C. P. for week ending the 30 January 1932 Akola.*—There has been increasing activity in the city and throughout the district with women speakers prominent. All pleaders are beginning to attend meetings. Five leaders were arrested on the 25th. Public meetings were frequent throughout the district with many seditious speeches. Processions in the city were as large as 3,000 with 300 women and meetings upto 8,000. Non-payment of land revenue has been openly advocated. On the 28th a meeting of the Akola public was held to protest against the ordinances and the way in which they were being enforced. Rao Bahadur Mahajani presided. There has been picketing in some places.

Amraoti is probably the quietest district in Berar at present. The 26th and 29th, Independence and Peshawar Days, were both celebrated but on a small scale and with no real enthusiasm. Some objectionable speeches have been made.

Buldana.—Agitation continues inspite of recent arrests. There were meetings on the 26th and 29th in many centres with audiences up to 2,000. There have been some objectionable speeches and some picketing.

Yeotmal.—The arrests of Aney and Damle on the 28th were followed by demonstrations of protest. The 26th and 29th were celebrated and audiences numbered up to 3,500.

Nagpur.—There has been increased Congress activity. Preparations for hostile demonstrations on the 26th and 29th were countered and squashed. However the crowd of 10,000 on the 29th was the most vigorous demonstration in the city so far, and women agitators were prominent. Activity in Umred which had got somewhat out of hand, was dealt with.

Wardha.—Agitation continues. There have been many meetings throughout the district and in Wardha town the audiences on the 26th and 29th numbered 3,000 and 8,000. Picketing continues. Activities are directed from the Wardha Ashram. A satyagraha camp was opened at Selu with 4 volunteers.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 6

13 February, 1932.

78. *C. P. for week ending 6-2-1932.*—Most districts report a definite decrease in Congress activity.

Akola.—There have been few large meetings and processions in the city, and the maximum attendance at any meeting dropped to 2,000. The application of Ordinance V from February 3rd resulted in the postponement of picketing. Women still take a prominent part. In the interior there has been activity in certain centres, and some objectionable speeches have been made. At three small meetings the non-payment of land revenue was advocated. There have been feeble attempts at picketing in a few places. About six arrests were made including that of Mrs. Kashikar, wife of a pleader of Basim, who has been leading the agitation in that area.

Amraoti district reports the quietest week for some time. There have been few meetings and the attendances were smaller than usual. A pro-Govt. meeting was held at Ellichpur on the 1st at which 350 people were present.

Buldana.—Congress at Khamgaon. Efforts have been made to keep alive propaganda in the district but public enthusiasm is lacking. Congress is reported to be badly in need of volunteers and funds. Official action is reported to have had a good effect.

* * *

Chanda.—Chanda district is quiet. Dealers in the Chanda town have sealed their stocks of foreign cloth, and a local *Congress Bulletin* has been issued from the 5th.

Nagpur.—The D. S. P. reports that the week has shown a distinct wane in Congress activity. Gandhi Day and Motilal Day celebrations were complete failures. Nominal picketing was resumed on the 6th and 7th and a few arrests were made. The *Bulletin* continues to issue. The interior of the district is quiet.

Wardha.—Picketing was started at three centres and continued at Hinganghat. Vigorous action has been taken in all these places and the D. S. P. reports that the situation is well in hand. Punitive Police have been recommended for six months at Hinganghat. A *Congress Bulletin* continues to issue.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 7

20 February, 1932.

83. *C. P. for week ending 13-2-1932.*—The improvement in the general situation continued. The number and size of meetings decreased. Picketing was irregular and ineffective. Propaganda against the use of British goods continued, its effect is at present difficult to estimate. Cyclostyled *Congress Bulletins* were in circulation in many districts.

* * *

Nagpur.—The situation in the interior continues to improve. In the city activities are still kept under constant watch and counteraction. There has been no picketing. The bulletin continues to circulate in the city and a local bulletin has appeared at Katol.

Wardha--Picketing continues in various centres, and there have been several meetings, audiences upto 2,000. Mrs. Jankibai, wife of Jamanalal Bajaj is trying to form an active group of female workers and has opened a satyagraha chhavani at Pulgaon. Vigorous counteraction continues. '

Chanda.—The local leaders, Seth Khushalchand, has been arrested, and dealers have again resumed normal business. The Gandhi Sewa Mandal in Chanda town has now joined the main Congress party. Congress has no backing in the district. A *Congress Bulletin* is in circulation.

* * *

Amraoti—The district has been fairly quiet. The local Congress cyclostyled bulletin has reappeared and a boycott week is to be started from 15th.

Akola.—Activities were confined to fewer centres and three taluqas were quiet. Women workers continue to be active. The number and size of meetings has decreased and effective picketing has ceased. There have been several arrests. A Swadeshi League has been formed in Akola city. Cyclostyled bulletins have appeared in the city.

Buldana.—Picketing continued in Khamgaon, but there was less public support and propaganda in the interior has weakened. Agitation is now practically confined to Khamgaon town. A local bulletin is in circulation in Khamgaon There have been several meetings but audiences are smaller. Two women workers have been prominent.

Yeotmal.—There has been less agitation. There were a few small meetings but local leaders seem to have no definite programme except boycott, and no arrests were made.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 8

27 February, 1932.

91. *C. P. for the week ending 20-2-1932.*—Congress agitation continues to slacken in most places. There have been some cases of rowdyism and threatening posters and letters have begun to appear.

Wardha.—Agitation continues with picketing at various places and many meetings with audiences upto 2,000 and some objectionable speeches. On the 14th after arresting picketers at the Wardha liquor shop, the police had to drive off a hostile crowd of 5,000 with canes and lathis. The police party was stoned and seven constables were injured. Small camps have been opened at Arvi and Deoli in addition to those at Pulgaon and Selu. At present they are not sufficiently vigorous to merit attention. Towards the end of the week the situation improved.

Chanda.—The district is quiet but there has been an increase of activity in Chanda town. On the 14th attempts to celebrate Garhwal day were prevented. Nine arrests weremade. Acrowd of 500 had to be pushed back with canes. On the 16th and 21st meetings of 1,000 and 4,000 were held. After the meetings stones were thrown at local officers on their way home. Merchants have again agreed to stop the sale of foreign cloth.

Amraoti district continues to be fairly quiet. Boycott Week came to an end on the 20th and aroused little public interest. Akola reports a definite decrease in Congress agitation which is now confined to Akola city and Basim sub-division. Picketing has ceased. In Basim (Washim) town. Congress agitation is increasing Hindu-Muhammadan tension. In Buldana district agitation is still confined to Khamgaon town where picketing continues but the supply of volunteers is gradually drying up. Yeotmal district has been quiet except for one objectionable speech. The collection of land revenue in Akola and Buldana is proving more easy than was anticipated.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

No. 9

5 March, 1932.

97. *C. P. for the week ending 27-2-1932 :*

* * *

Nagpur Division

The situation in Nagpur is about the same, except that a Swadeshi League has been started by Congress leaders who have been keeping in the background of the present movement. In Wardha district the situation has improved, although Hinganghat still shows signs of activity inspite of the measures adopted (arrests and punitive police). There has been some attempt to keep agitation going in Chanda town but the rest of the district is quiet. On the 28th a crowd of 300 had to be driven back with canes, in order to prevent demonstrations on Puri Congress Day.....

Berar Division

Amraoti district has reported nothing. In Akola district there has been a slight increase in agitation by demonstrations throughout the districts on the two " Days " 26th and 28th. This is probably a temporary increase. Land revenue is coming in satisfactorily.

In Buldana district, Khamgaon town is still trying to keep agitation going The rest of the district is quiet. Yeotmal district reports nothing up to date.

In Akola and Khamgaon a Swadeshi league has been started to use Indian made goods or foreign goods except British.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

Vol. XLVIII

18 March, 1933.

No. 11

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Berar Division

113. *Amraoti*, 9-3-33.—Only one meeting was held during the week at Amraoti. It started with an audience of only 10 and finished with about 100. Waman Rao Joshi made a rather remarkable speech in which he admitted plainly that the civil disobedience movement had failed and should be stopped as early as possible. He said the reputation of the Congress leaders and workers was a minor consideration in comparison with the general welfare of the country. It was very clear that Congress had lost all its strength and it was better to admit defeat. There was no shame in making such an admission. He said it was foolish to deny defeat, when such defeat was apparent to all sensible people. As Gandhi was in jail he had no right to impose his will on people who wanted to go to the council. If the council was boycotted in the coming elections. Government would get all its own supporters elected.

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Central Provinces Police Abstract of Intelligence

Vol. XLVIII

8 April, 1933.

No. 14

142. *Akola*, 29-3-33.—On 25-3-33, there was meeting of 400 Revolutionary persons to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, who was killed in the Cawnpore communal riots in March 1931. R. G. Pandit presided. He and K. V. Sahasrabudhe were the only speakers. Sahasrabudhe commenced by saying that the great patriots, Sukhdeo, Rajguru and Bhagat Singh, were hanged against the will

of the nation and that the efforts to observe hartal at Cawnpore resulted in a communal fight. G. S. Vidyarthi lost his life in trying to pacify the communities. He gave a life history of Vidyarthi and said he never hesitated to help revolutionaries and had given assistance to the accused of Mainpuri and Kakori Conspiracy cases. He eulogised the part played by Vidyarthi during the Cawnpore riots. The rest of his speech was an attack on government and a thinly veiled approbation of violent methods. He said that Government officers were responsible for the ruin of India a fact which should be borne in mind by the younger generation. Violence should not be tolerated by any community but should be paid back in the same coin. Government was itself responsible for the terrorist movement and itself exercised violence and used fire arms and lathis on innocent persons in order to terrify them. Government kept the leaders of India in jail so that their advice should not be heard by the people. They should find out the principles to be adopted to acquire freedom and each house-holder should learn up these principles and should explain them to their households and their neighbours.

R. G. Pandit said that the fight for freedom had already begun and they should have to work continuously until foreign rule was ended and even had to sacrifice their lives. The fight was in full swing at present and would not cease until they secured complete freedom. Everybody should participate in the work. Congress would never die and was the institution which works for nation's freedom.

* * *

Appendix 1

ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS FROM 1-1-1932 TO 31-12-1932

District	I. P. C.		C. P. C,		Ordinances								C. I. A. Act.		Act XXII of 1922.		Other C.D. offences.		Total.	
					III		IV		V		X									
	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C
Nagpur	125	106	—	—	—	—	—	—	126	95	3	3	277	222	—	—	223	105	754	532
Wardha	27	20	5	5	—	—	—	—	261	261	—	—	252	241	—	—	4	4	549	531
Chanda	26	25	1	1									26	14	—	—	6	5	59	45
Bhandara	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	75	72				—	—	—	—	80	72	
Amraoti	8	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	62	59	—	—	—	—	70	67
Akola	68	62	—	—	—	—	—	—	171	171	5	5	98	95	—	—	30	28	372	361
Buldana	27	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	107	103	—	—	5	3	—	—	17	17	156	148
Yeotmal	2												15	15	—	—	—	—	17	15
Chhindwara	12	12	3	3	—	—	—	—	31	30				—	—	—	—	45	44	
Betul	31	31												—	—	—	—	31	31	
Jubbulpore	10	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	3	—	—	303	283	—	—	4	3	321	299
Saugor	5	5	—	—	4	4	—	—	16	12	—	—	88	63	—	—	—	—	113	84
Mandle	3	3											5	5	—	—	—	—	8	8
Balaghat	2	2	23	23									—	—	—	—	7	7	32	32
Hoshangabad	34	34	3	3	—	—	—	—	52	50	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	91	88
Nimar	24	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	13	—	—	5	5	—	—	5	4	47	39
Raipur	17	15	69	9	—	—	—	—	153	145	9	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	248	177
Bilaspur	12	12	—	—	1	1	—	—	59	58	7	3	4	4	—	—	—	—	83	78
Durg	9	9	8	1	—	—	—	—	84	82			—	—	—	—	—	—	101	92
Total	442	396	117	45	5	5	—	—	1,152	1,095	24	19	1,141	1,009	1	1	296	173	3,177	2,742

* A—Arrested, C—Convicted.



PART-III

FOREST SATYAGRAHA AT CHIRNER

PART-III

Forest Satyagraha at Chirner

The initial thrust of civil disobedience was on salt satyagraha, but the salt phase of the agitation started petering out when the monsoon arrived. There was indeed no all-India blueprint for civil disobedience and the movement in practice took the form of loosely co-ordinated local conflicts. By 15 May 1930 Congress Working Committee realised that extensive flexibility was necessary to be granted to local satyagraha units, and that a time had come for new forms of civil, disobedience, such as violation of forest laws, non-payment of land revenue, disobedience to the Ordinances, withdrawal of post office savings, etc. As Jairamdas Daulatram wrote in the Young India : " Each town, each village may have.....to become its own battlefield. The strategy of the battle must then come to be determined by local circumstances and change with them from day to day " (Young India, 17 July 1930). Accordingly the Maharashtra Civil Disobedience Committee opted for a series of satyagrahas against the oppressive forest laws. Forest satyagraha became a great rallying point and its strategy for Western Maharashtra was prepared by Shankarrao Deo. After the Shiroda Salt satyagraha, the next target was the forest satyagraha in Sangamner and Akola talukas of Ahmednagar district. A series of forest satyagrahas was enacted in almost all districts.

However, the satyagraha at Chirner in Panvel taluka attracted great attention not merely in Maharashtra, but also in India. A huge mass of people violated the forest laws simultaneously at Chirner, Kalhe and Chawane on 8 September 1930. But the most famous satyagraha, which was a grim non-violent battle, was fought at Chirner on 25 September 1930. " The Tahsildar equipped with a considerable police force was sent to curb the satyagraha. Indignant but non-violent satyagrahis were handcuffed without the order of the Tahsildar. The latter questioned the police officer for his action. The satyagrahis appreciated the good gesture of the Tahsildar. The police officer, however, took offence and on a slight pretext opened fire on the satyagrahis. The tahsildar was surprised why the police should have

resorted to firing. He came forward to stop the use of this brute force. Unfortunately the Tahsildar, the representative of British Government, himself fell a victim to a bullet shot from the so-called protectors of law. The satyagrahi women tried to save the life of the Tahsildar, but in vain. The satyagrahis, all of them Agris and Kunbis, even though they had lost seven of their colleagues in this battle, showed the magnanimity to decorate the dead body of the Tahsildar and to participate in the funeral procession. This led to a great consternation among the official circles. The bureaucracy instituted prosecution of many satyagrahis and perpetrated the worst type of harassment of those arrested ". (K. K. Chaudhari, Maharashtra and Indian Freedom Struggle, p. 95)

The documents and the comments of enlightened persons and newspapers, furnished in this part, throw a searching light on the nonviolent movement of Gandhian resistance at Chirner.

Editor

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Bombay Special to Home, Simla (Telegram)

S. D. 4212

26 September, 1930.

Following from Commissioner, Southern Division, dated September 26th Quote District Kolaba wires Begins Panvel Sipols telegram received yesterday night Begins Firing opened at the mob in Chirner Satyagraha Mamlatdar killed. No trace of Chirner partymen. Inspector and Ranger in difficulty wired for help from Karjat and Uran. Myself proceeding Chirner with possible men. Ends. Panvel Head Karkun wire. Begins Chirner forest Satyagraha Mamlatdar died gunshot wound. Ends. Myself with dispol and Prant Northern proceeding this morning Panvel Will wire further development later. Ends. I suggest Thana or Bombay reinforcements be offered to District Kolaba at Panvel and reinforcements be wired to stand by pending his reply Unquote.

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A. E. Caffin, D. S. P., Kolaba to I. G. P., Poona

Panvel, 27 September, 1930.

In continuation of my telegram of last night I have the honour to report as follows:

For the past week or so, an additional force of 20 armed policemen has been kept at Panvel in view of the frequency of forest satyagraha there.

On 25th Sept. 1930 satyagraha was to take place in Chirner forest. So the Mamlatdar, Inspector and 20 police (14 armed and 6 with lathis) went there. A large crowd had gathered outside the forest, but a number of people had already entered the forest. The police party went ahead and arrested a number of leaders or more prominent offenders. The Inspector ordered the prisoners to be handcuffed fearing an attempt by the crowd to release them. The crowd made a hostile demonstration and the Mamlatdar, in order to pacify them, ordered the removal of the handcuffs. This was done, but the crowd became more and more hostile. The police party were now in a small valley and the satyagrahis entered in from the hills on the three sides of the party and commenced throwing stones and logs cut from the forest. The Mamlatdar and a roundguard went ahead to try and pacify the crowd, but to no effect. A forest guard who was bringing sickles (attached from the accused) was beaten and the sickles

taken from him. Simultaneously the Inspector received a blow from a stick knocking him down, and his revolver and cartridges were snatched from him. Seeing the situation so serious, the police opened fire in self-defence. Unfortunately a stray bullet killed the Mamlatdar. One roundguard also was killed, but this cannot be definitely ascribed to a bullet until the post-mortem notes are received. Apparently some policemen strayed from the party and were cut off. One head constable returned yesterday after wandering through the jungle ; 1 head constable and 1 constable were found at a short distance from the scene, beaten to death and one unarmed head constable has not yet reported.

In all 9 deaths are so far reported including four Government servants. Fourteen policemen have received injuries mostly slight. About 15 satyagrahis are known to be injured, but there are probably many more satyagrahis injured to a less extent. The number of satyagrahis was estimated at 5,000.

One hundred and fifty-five rounds of ammunition are missing, i.e., including fired and lost. Probably quite a number of rounds were lost, without being fired.

The D. S. P. and D. M. received intimation of the occurrence at 10 p.m. on 25-9-30 and reached Panvel on 26-9-30 at 10 a.m. (approximately). It was found that the D. S. P., Thana, on receiving news, went to the spot in the early hours of the morning with his Dy. S. P. and 50 men, and rendered invaluable assistance in restoring confidence and setting afoot an enquiry. The D. M. and D. S. P., Kolaba, after making enquiries at Panvel proceeded to the spot and continued enquiries there. The D. S. P. is continuing the enquiry as the above is a rough outline of the happenings. The D. M. has returned to Alibag. Offences are being registered under the relevant sections. Two guns (475 pattern), one revolver and a quantity of ammunition are missing in addition to other articles of Government kit.

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Panvel Merchants' Association to Governor of Bombay

Panvel, 26 September 1930.

'The Merchants' Association of Panvel strongly protests against police excesses, unprovoked, unauthorised and indiscriminate firing by the police on peaceful masses assembled at Chirner from several villages for forest satyagraha on twenty-fifth evening. The association expresses regret of the tragic death of the magistrate and other victims due to the police firing. It further demands complete inquiry by independent non-official committee and immediate transfer of officers concerned for impartial investigation.—President Panvel Merchants' Association.

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Panvel Municipality to Governor of Bombay

Panvel, 20 October 1930.

The Municipality, Panvel, resolves by resolution of 1-10-30.—The Municipality of Panvel invites the attention of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to the unauthorised firing by the police at Chirner on 25th September 1930 and begs that a committee of non-officials with a Judicial Officer as president be appointed to enquire into the matter.

The Prabhat

30 September 1930 (Extract).

Referring to the recent firing tragedy at Panvel, the *Prabhat* says that it is an admitted fact that the Police Inspector was new and had just come there from Sholapur, that he disliked at first the Mamlatdar's advice to remove the handcuffs from the arrested satyagrahis and also that the public became excited when the Magistrate fell a victim to the firing. In view of all these things, the paper demands a thorough enquiry into the matter. It says that though the Mamlatdar is not the head of the police, he is considered senior to the Police Inspector, but the paper had lately direct communication with the Home Member, and it tells that if this is not true, the misunderstanding should be removed.

The Bombay Chronicle

24 October 1930 (Extract).

The executive committee of the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona at its meeting held on Sunday last, Mr. N. C. Kelkar presiding, decided to appoint a committee to inquire into the firing at Chirner in Panwel taluka (Kolaba) and the following gentlemen have consented to work on the committee :—

Jamnadas M. Mehta, President; Husein B. Tyebjee, Ex. Judge. Small Causes Court, Bombay ; M. C. Chhagla ; L. R. Gokhale, High Court Pleader, M. L. C.; Narayanrao R. Gunjal, M. L. A.; Narayan Nagoo Patil, M. L. C.; and Dr. Motiram B. Velkar, L. M. & S. Corporator, Bombay. Madhavrao V. Godbole, has been appointed secretary of the committee and all communication should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Chirner Enquiry Committee, Asian Building, Ballard Estate, Bombay.

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K. V. Koundinya, S. D. M., Kolaba to D. M., Kolaba

Alibag, 13 October 1930.

I have the honour to submit my final report regarding the tragic episode of Chirner after making a full enquiry into the matter.

2. As you are aware, I reached Panvel with the District Magistrate and District Superintendent of Police at midday on the 26th, the isolated situation of Alibag having rendered it impossible for us to reach earlier. I immediately proceeded to the tragic scene at Chirner and examined the place. The maidan at the foot of the tree-clad hills presented a ghastly scene of a battle-field. The place was strewn with stones and pieces of newly cut branch wood and two dead bodies, viz, those of the forest guard Shevde and of a villager were still lying there. The Mamlatdar's body had been removed to Panvel the previous evening. I was shown the dead bodies of two Policemen lying in paddy fields between the village and the scene of riot. I need not say more on the subject here as you have seen all the above-mentioned places and the dead bodies the same day.

3. My enquiry has been as thorough and open as it could be. For the first four days I camped in the adjoining village Vindhane and began my enquiry on the 27th. On the 29th I saw you at Panvel and as instructed by you, I caused it to be proclaimed both in Panvel town and Chirner that the evidence of persons who are desirous of giving first-hand information will be recorded by me at Panvel on 30 September and 1 October. The Congress at first seemed to be opposed to my holding the enquiry and I gathered that two days previously, it was resolved at a public meeting that Government should be requested to appoint a committee of non-officials for the purpose. On the first day (30th) none turned up till 4 p.m. On the other hand a few volunteers were loitering in a private property in front of my camp apparently to picket the enquiry. Strangely enough between 4 and 5 p.m. one pleader (Mr. Gangal) came with 5 witnesses. He volunteered an explanation that the Panvel Congress Committee was not opposed to the enquiry being made by me. I had already granted their request to allow two pleaders to be present to watch the proceedings. The D. S. P. also sent one or two subordinates for the same purpose. Throughout my enquiry from 30th September to 3rd October both sides were represented and even the statements of the Police Inspector and the Policemen concerned in the firing were recorded in the presence of the representatives on both sides.

I examined 14 witnesses produced by the Congress pleaders in addition to a Congressman of Chirner, examined by me in the village on the 27th. These witnesses include five persons of Chirner, one of Chirle and one Uran Peta village. They also include five Congress volunteers, 2 private Medical Practitioners deputed by me Congress for ambulance duty and the father of the dictator of the Congress. On the other side I have examined five Police officers and men directly concerned, three independent witnesses from villages on that side and 10 Government officers and servants who cannot but be disinterested in the results of the enquiry. The evidence of the two sides is kept in separate files.

4. The C. D. O. Movement in Panvel was at its lowest ebb during the salt campaign days of April and May. The movement grew intense since the settling in of the monsoon and the local Congress committee strengthened by the moral and financial support of landlords, merchants and pleaders began to tread in the steps of the B. P. C. C. They opened a satyagraha mandal corresponding to War Council of the B. P. C. C. They opened a camp of volunteers started a seva dal with the services of a drill-instructor secured from Bombay and held a vigorous campaign for picketing liquor shops in the first instance. As a result direct or indirect to anti-excise movement the Excise Inspector and his party were roughly handled by illicit distillers in village Kharghar. About the same time the Congress volunteers were diffusing propaganda against the Forest Department and two sporadic raids on forests were reported. In one case, 60 or 75 people of one village entered in a body in broad daylight in the teak forest of Karnala and cut 150 teak trees at a stroke. The wood was removed openly in broad day-light. This was in the month of June, The movement was further intensified in the months of July and August when Congress with the support of the leaders outside the district celebrated weeks under the name of Gandhi Week, National Week, Boycott Week, Peasants Week, etc. During these weeks especially during the last mentioned one, a vigorous propaganda was held in villages both by speeches and by the distribution of cyclostyled bulletins styled as *Satyagraha Patrikas* and printed leaflets known as *Shetakari Athvada Patrika* and so on. Secret instigation of a very mischievous character also formed part of the propaganda.

With the ground thus prepared, the First raids on forests were held on 8 September at four centres. The simultaneous raid at four centres was evidently calculated to baffle the arrangements of the local officers, I camped in the taluka from 8 to 13 and during that period jungle satyagraha was held on 8 and 11, The Police was strengthened by 36 armed men from Headquarters. On the 11th myself and the D, S. P. were present at Kamala (Bandhanwadi) centre which was to be their main amphitheatre, and where at the first raid of the 8th considerable damage had been caused to the forests. While, however, raids were held at other centres on the 11th, their programme of Karnala was cancelled at the eleventh hour on the pretext of rains.

Before leaving Panvel, I organised a scheme for enlivening a counter-propaganda amongst the villagers and this seemed to have led to tangible results,' The raids on the 15th though announced did not materialise. By this time the Karnala centre was practically closed to the Congress activities as the people definitely declined to participate in the jungle raids, The Congress people then concentrated their attention upon Chirner centre which is on the borders of Uran Peta, The villages on that side, besides being populous have, I understand, a sad history of crimes to their credit, I have found out that 4 or 5 years back there was a serious riot roundabout Chirner which ended in two or three murders,

Nevertheless the satyagraha at Chirner on the 18th was a fiasco though it was their main amphitheatre of that day and the crowds did not enter the forest after two volunteers who made speeches were arrested.

These results while on the one hand made the local officers confident of nonviolence, it seemed to have actuated the Congress agitators to leave no stone unturned to make their campaign a success. They even altered the *modus operandi* secretly as will be explained later.

5. Turning now to the incidents of 25th as the first act of deception, they declared on the preceding day that simultaneous satyagraha would be held at seven centres. Their object was evidently to hood-wink the Magistrate and the Police because while at 6 centres no satyagraha or anything of the sort took place, the forces of the raiders were mobilised at one centre *viz.*, Chirner. The Inspector could not afford to take more than 20 Policemen to Chirner, of whom 14 were armed with rifles or guns and 6 with lathis. Against this small Police force, according to the evidence of the Congress witnesses themselves, 5,000 or 6,000 people, many of whom were armed with sickles and axes gathered at Chirner. The Magistrate and Police were further outwitted. While all previous raids commenced with a procession followed by speeches, this time while a procession was being formed in Chirner village, crowds entered the jungle for cutting trees before the arrival of the procession. No speeches were made and Congress volunteer Khare says that K. G. Gupte, the dictator's father told the Police Inspector at the entrance into the jungle that speech was omitted from the programme as it would lead to arrests in the beginning. Evidently this was a reference to the failures of the satyagraha at the very place on the 18th.

6. It will not be out of place to explain here the topography of the scene of satyagraha. A map drawn to scale accompanies.¹ The village of Chirner is 14 miles distance from Panvel with which it is connected by roads, partly Provincial and partly Local Board. The Local Board road, especially, the last three miles are in a very bad condition, being just passable for motor buses with difficulty. The forest in question is about a mile further to the east of the village and a zigzag foot-path leads to it over bunds of fields and Warkas land. The foot-path is at some places, especially the portion which emerges out into the scene of riot, is so narrow as not to admit passing even in rows of two.

There is a brooklet where the foot-path from the village ends and beyond it a maidan which is the scene of the riot. The maidan is situated within the limits of the reserved forest, but excepting for bushes, shrubs, and a few young teak plants on its outskirts, it is practically an open area, the real jungle being situated on the hills surrounding the maidan on three sides. I have shown in the map the situation on the hill where the trees were actually cut. Between that hill and the maidan there is another brooklet and beyond it a zigzag and steep foot-path leads up into the jungle where the trees were cut. The principal landmarks at the scene of satyagraha concerning this case are (1) the hill to the east where the trees were cut, (2) the brooklet at the foot of the hill, (3) the maidan next to it, (4) a banyan tree in the middle of the maidan with a platform built round it, and (5) the brooklet on the other side of the maidan where the foot-path from the village ends. In short the maidan with towering hills on its three sides has only a bottle-necked opening on the fourth side which is covered by the foot-path leading to the village.

¹ Not enclosed here.

7. I shall now dwell upon the main incidents. The maidan was made the base of raid by the satyagrahis. Because it is there that the people gathered and it was from there that satyagrahis entered the forest. It is proved by the evidence of witnesses on both the sides that the cutting of trees was commenced before the procession arrived after worshipping a cow in the village. The Magistrate, the Police and Forest officers and their parties had, as a matter of fact, to go to the maidan before the procession on seeing masses entering the forest. It is in the evidence on both the sides that the Police Inspector and his men and the R. F. O. and his subordinates ascended the hill after the procession arrived at the maidan and after ascertaining that no speeches would be made. In relating the subsequent events, for the sake of convenience. I am dividing the story into the following parts: Occurrences on the hill; occurrences on the maidan before the Inspector and his men arrived from the hill; occurrences on the maidan after they arrived ; and events after fire was opened.

8. It is in the evidence on both the sides that the whole crowd did not enter the jungle, but much of the crowd stood on the maidan, while some portion of it ascended the hill for cutting trees. Even the Congress witnesses give the number of the latter to be about 500 to 700. The Magistrate was "sitting somewhere on the maidan till he was invited to come up into the jungle as will be explained later. It is evident from the evidence of witnesses on both the sides, witnesses who were standing on the maidan, that sometime after the Police and Forest Officers and men entered the jungle, a row came to be heard from the hill.

Congress witness Baloo Ramji says that from the maidan he saw the Police and the people quarrelling with each other. Narayan Patil says that on hearing the row some of the persons standing on the maidan ascended the hill. Shankar and Shivaram, who are both independent witnesses, say that the people, when they heard the row, ascended the hill with the words that they would not return home without the persons arrested by the Police. After the row was heard according to the witnesses on both the sides a report came down that the Police are charging people on the hill with lathis. On hearing this a large number of people on the maidan ascended the hill, and even the Congress volunteer Thorve says that there was a great commotion in the crowd when they heard about the lathicharge. A majority of the witnesses state that 2 or 3 persons from the hill came down and told the people why they were still standing there when people were charged with lathis on the hill and that they do not know the names of the persons who brought the report. But Ganpat, Mamlatdar's orderly and Dattatraya Ganesh, Talathi state that it was Congress volunteer Narayan *alias* Nana Khare who brought the report about lathicharge and who took the Mamlatdar up into the jungle from the maidan telling him the same thing. The said volunteer admits that he came down from the hill to the maidan to call the Mamlatdar, as, he says, every prisoner was abused and slapped on cheek by the Inspector while being arrested, and as the inspector, while doing so, asked the Congress volunteers to go down as they had no business to remain in the jungle. The said volunteer also states that one other Red Cross volunteer whose name he does not remember also came down with him to call the Ambulance Doctors Phadke and Khare. Even Messrs. Phadke and Khare calling themselves Ambulance Doctors state that somebody from the hill shouted " Where are the Doctors, our people are charged with lathis on the hill. " They say then they went up to the hill. It is therefore evident that after the row on the hill the report about lathicharge was brought down by some including Congress volunteer Nana Khare to the effect that the people were charged with lathis which worked the minds of the crowds up.

Curiously enough, however, Nana Khare himself has not alleged that lathis were used. He has denied it even when particularly questioned and he even denies that he told people about lathicharge. He says that he only said people were subjected to *marhan*, which again means merciless beating. In the same breath he corrected even that word and says that he only said that persons were slapped and abused. Even his statement that the arrested persons were abused and slapped is believed by the evidence of the respectable Congress witnesses, Ambulance Doctors Phadke and Khare. Volunteer Khare says that he was with the Police Inspector and party from the beginning and he says that 6 or 7 persons first arrested were so abused and slapped when he went down to inform the people and the Mamlatdar. According to him the Ambulance Doctors also came afterwards. But the Ambulance Doctors say that they also were present with the Inspector till the first 10 or 11 offenders were arrested by the Inspector one by one and afterwards they came down because they found everything was going on peacefully. According to them they heard the shout of lathicharge sometime after they went down. It goes without saying that the evidence of the volunteers and that of the Ambulance Doctors falsify each other. Further, the Ambulance Doctors say that they did not see any person injured with lathi, though they made enquiries after they went up. Of course, being witnesses produced by the Congress they say that the Red Cross volunteers told them that the injured men ran away, Phadke says the volunteers said that only one was injured, while Khare says that the number given was 4 or 5, the fact remains that they did not see anybody injured with lathis either then or at any time afterwards..... While writing this report I received the dying declaration of Krishna Anant Sawant, one of the wounded constables lying in a precarious condition in Alibag Civil Hospital. He states that disturbance arose after somebody created a scare about lathicharge which was entirely false.

9. The Police Inspector says that he did not even slap anybody and that he simply arrested offenders one by one while ascending the hill and left them in the charge of Police constables while ascending further and further. He says that 7 persons first arrested were so left in the charge of constables and arrested 9 more at the last stage. It appears from the evidence on both the sides that 6 or 7 prisoners first arrested were taken down to the maidan by the constables in advance. What happened to these prisoners will be said later. To revert to the happenings on the hill the Inspector says that while he was coming down from the last stage with the 9 prisoners for writing the *panchanama* at a convenient place at a lower stage of the hill, he saw crowds from below coming up towards him. On seeing them he feared that the prisoners with him might mix themselves into the crowd, and so in order to secure their custody he caused them to be handcuffed. He had only 4 handcuffs with which 8 were handcuffed, two with each, and one was loose. The crowd then demanded that the Inspector should either remove the handcuffs or to handcuff the whole crowd. At this juncture he says the Mamlatdar came there. It is thus apparent that this incident happened after the scare about lathicharge was spread below. Dadabhai Gupte, Congress Dictator's father, and the Mamlatdar are said to have tried to pacify the crowds, but they were uncontrollable and the Mamlatdar then asked the Inspector to remove the handcuffs. While this talk was going on 5 prisoners, 4 handcuffed and one loose, ran away. At this juncture one person from the crowd cut a tree in the presence of the Police. The Inspector caused *panchanamas* regarding them to be written and after the *panchanamas* were over, he removed the handcuffs as asked by the Mamlatdar. Then they all started going to the maidan.

These witnesses say that the crowds demanded the removal of the handcuffs and the release of the prisoners. The evidence of the Ambulance Doctors that nothing untoward happened while they were present till the first 10 or 11 persons were arrested gives strength to the Inspector's statement. The evidence of even the Congress witnesses and of the Ambulance Doctors also proves that the crowds demanded the removal of the handcuffs. Even Dadabhai (K. G.) Gupte, Congress Dictator's father, who says that he went up after hearing report about lathicharge states that he enquired who were injured with lathis but no response came. It is thus evident that neither lathicharge nor slapping has been proved. On the other hand the scare about lathicharge excited the fury of the crowds below and after they went up, created disturbance over the removal of handcuffs and in the resultant disturbance 5 prisoners escaped.

Here I must relate incident about the 6 or 7 prisoners sent down in advance. According to the evidence of the Policemen who guarded them, after the scare about lathicharge part of the crowd ascended the hill, the remaining crowd assaulted them with sticks and sickles and affected the release of the prisoners. That these prisoners were brought down in advance is an undoubted fact and is proved by the evidence on both the sides. Phadke, Ambulance Doctor, and a Congress witness himself says that he saw 7 or 8 prisoners on the maidan with Police escort surrounded by a crowd of about 1,000 men. Of course he is silent as to why it was so and what happened afterwards to them. Congress witness Balaram says he had seen prisoners with Police on the maidan, but after part of the crowds went up he saw only Policemen without prisoners. The Police constables state that after the prisoners were rescued they were obstructed from going to the hill to report the event to the Inspector. It is pertinent to observe that Congress volunteer Thorve who says he was on the maidan throughout states that once he saw 3 or 4 prisoners with the Policemen on the maidan but after about an hour he saw only the Police in the act of going to the hill without prisoners. These Congress witnesses, therefore, without saying distinctly in so many words make statements suggesting an inference that the prisoners either escaped or were rescued.

10. On the whole out of the 16 offenders arrested only 5 remained with the Police at the time when the Inspector and his men started from the hill. It is an undisputed fact that the 5 prisoners with their handcuffs removed were placed between Policemen and they were in the front, while the Inspector, Mamlatdar, Range Forest Officer and others were following them down from the hill. When they reached the foot of the hill, a very large crowd was facing them shouting and flourishing sticks and sickles. While this was so, the Congress volunteers on the other side of the brooklet were standing with a cordon formed, making a way for the prisoners and Policemen and officers to pass out. Here I must observe that the evidence on the two sides is diametrically opposite of each other, this being the principal item of the happenings of the day, viz., what led to the firing. The Inspector says that though the volunteers formed the cordon, the pressure of the mob from behind the cordon was too great for them and after proceeding a few paces in the cordon somebody shouted " look at the Patil Shiva, don't leave him " and this was followed by blows of sticks on the head of Shivram Vithu, Police Patil of Chirner, who is said to have given the names of some

of the offenders on the hill. At this juncture Forest Guard Narayan was given a blow with a stick and was robbed of the attached sickles and pieces of wood in his custody. When they went a few paces onward and were approaching the banyan tree the pressure became so overwhelming that the cordon broke with the result that the Inspector and Policemen became exposed to the attacks of the crowds. The Inspector says that at this juncture stones and pieces of wood were also showered on them and he was dragged on one side and somebody struck on his head with a piece of wood and his turban fell down. When he stopped to pick it up, he received a blow of stick on his left shoulderblade. When he turned round to catch the assailant, he heard reports of gun shot. After this when he stepped two paces, he was given another blow which struck above the thumb of his right hand. It was then that volunteer Thorve held him in his clasp and he and Dadabhai Gupte, Dictator's father, conducted him to a bush at some distance and was given shelter, while on the one side firing was continued on the other side men in the crowd came upon him with sticks and sickles and the volunteers protected him by beseeching to the people not to injure the Inspector. I will stop here for the present and dwell upon the evidence of others leading up to the incident.

Narayan Patil Karulkar, Talathi, and Narayan, Forest Guard say that there were shouts of *mara mara* (beat) as soon as the Police party approached the maidan. These witnesses were then standing on the maidan. Karulkar and Datatraya Ganesh Kelavane. Talathi, who was also standing on the maidan saw blows of sticks fallen on persons and the latter says that the blows were seen by him having struck the Policemen and the Police Patil. This is also corroborated by the evidence of the Policemen and the party. The Police Patil who received the blows first also corroborates and he says that he fell down as soon as he received the blow, but was helped up by a Policeman and to save his life he pushed his way along with the police leaning on a Policeman for support. The evidence of the Policeman shows that near the Banyan tree they saw the Inspector and the Mamlatdar dragged aside by the mob and the shower to stones and other missiles and the blows of sticks caused injuries to several of the Policemen and one Policeman even fell down with his lip torn, and he was helped up. This is the constable who is lying in the Civil Hospital in a precarious condition with his head also broken. His dying declaration also says that he was hurt while they were passing through the crowds in the maidan. They further state that they pushed their way amidst blows and missiles and as soon as they were out of the crowd, Budhaji, the Major Havildar finding mob still coming upon them and not seeing the Mamlatdar and the Inspector told his men to save their lives (*Jan Bachao*). Then they said they opened fire. In the meanwhile somebody shouted " they are blank shots, don't fear attack the Police " and then the mob increased their shower of missiles.....

* * *

The Congress version is that after the party came down, the volunteers formed a cordon allowing a passage by which the Policeman etc., went out as far as the brooklet when firing was opened unnecessarily. Further to strengthen their version they state that the Mamlatdar hearing the gunshot reports stood raising his hands and asked who ordered firing but himself fell down shot dead. A further development has arisen in their story that just at the time the Inspector who was standing near him aimed his revolver at the Mamlatdar and shot him dead, one more shot of the revolver having struck an Agri (referring to one Hashiram Budhya who died in the K. E. M. Hospital and whose alleged version appeared in the issue of the *Free Press Journal* of the 28th September). The revolver incident will be dealt with in a separate para, and I shall first dwell upon the evidence of Congress witnesses as to the incident which led up to firing.

Firstly, regarding the cordon they say that the cordon was formed only for allowing a passage to the Police, as they could not find a way out in the thick crowds. If therefore it is to be believed that the Policemen passed out safely, the cordon must have extended from one end of the crowd to the other and the prisoners must also have passed with Police through the cordon. But the evidence of the Congress witnesses on this point is so discrepant that it goes to support the Police version.

Congress witnesses Meghanath, Dhanaji Joma, Narayan Khare, K. G. Gupte say that the cordon extended from the brooklet at the foot of the hill to the brooklet where from the fire was opened. But their own witnesses Gajanan, Thorve, Khaja and Madan state that the cordon was only partial and even amongst them, while some say that the cordon extended from the brooklet at the foot of the hill wherefrom the fire was opened. Witness BalooThakur says that no cordon was formed at all. Madan says that the cordon was composed only of 5 persons, as short as that. This point is important because according to the Police version the cordon which commenced at the foot of the hill broke when they approached the banyan tree, the tree is midway between the two brooklets.

Further, as regards persons who passed through the cordon, the evidence is extremely discrepant. No man's statement on the point tackles with that of another. It is, however, significant that, Meghanath, Balaram Posha say that the prisoners were not seen with the Policemen in the cordon. But Gajanan Dhanaji, Ragho, Narayan Khare, Thorve, Khaja say that the prisoners also passed out of the crowd with the Policemen. Further, while all the witnesses except K. G. Gupte say that the Police Inspector passed out of the crowd with the Policemen, as regards the Mamlatdar they are not unanimous. This is a very important point as it has a bearing on the allegation that the Inspector who was near the Mamlatdar shot him with a revolver immediately after firing was opened. Dhanaji, Baloo Thakur, Ragho, Thorve, Khaja say that the Mamlatdar was with the Inspector and the Policemen while passing out of the crowd. But Meghanath, K.G. Gupte definitely say that the Mamlatdar was not passing through the cordon. According to K. G. Gupte even the Police Inspector was near him and the Mamlatdar behind the cordon. Meghanath says that after escorting the Police out through the cordon, he went to the well on the northern side of the maidan for drinking water and at that time he found the Mamlatdar near the well. He further says when both of them were near the well then heard the reports of gunshots and the Mamlatdar and himself both came to where the Policemen had been left. According to this witness, while he and the Mamlatdar were standing there, the Mamlatdar asking who ordered firing, the first shot struck the Round Guard Shevde who fell down and when, therefore, the witness was just about to run the Mamlatdar also was shot dead.

It is curious that while Meghanath claimed the Mamlatdar to be beside him near well when firing was opened, K. G. Gupte says that both the Mamlatdar and the Inspector were near him near the banyan tree till just when they were going aside towards the north, gunshots were heard and the Mamlatdar fell down when he had raised his hands asking who ordered the firing. According to him therefore the Mamlatdar did not at all go to the well. Some Congress witnesses have stated that the Police Inspector ordered the firing. Gajanan says that after passing the banyan tree Inspector said

something in English and then fire was opened. Dhanaji also says the same thing. Shankar Pandav, a Congress volunteer who admits his ignorance even of A B C D states that the Inspector said two words in English when firing was opened. Gajanan, another volunteer, says that the Inspector said loudly " fire " when firing was opened. According to these two last mentioned witnesses the Mamlatdar and the Inspector were standing close to each other when the Inspector ordered the firing and the fire was opened. If so, there would have been no occasion for the Mamlatdar to have expressed who ordered firing. But they say that the Mamlatdar said so and it was at that juncture that the Inspector shot the Mamlatdar with a revolver.

11. I must now dwell upon the revolver incident. Two Congress volunteers mentioned above are the only two witnesses who have made this allegation. Shankar Pandav locates the place of revolver shooting quite close to the brooklet from where the Policemen opened fire. But Gajanan says that this took place somewhere after passing the banyan tree on the maidan and he definitely says that only Policemen (not Inspector) and prisoners had gone to the brooklet from where firing was opened. Shankar Pandav says that the Inspector was immediately behind the Mamlatdar. He further says that there were about 20 or 25 Panvel people round about the place of whom 5 or 6 were volunteers of the Congress, his own Comrades. He mentions amongst the latter his companion witness Gajanan and one Khaja. But Khaja who has been examined has made no mention of the revolver incident. Gajanan on the other hand says that he did not see any acquaintance of his standing near the place where the revolver was fired. If as stated by Shankar 20 or 25 persons including 5 or 6 volunteers were round about the Inspector and the Mamlatdar several of them must have seen it and it is curious that Shankar says that none tried to catch hold of the Inspector red handed with the revolver either before or after the revolver was fired. On the other hand, according to the evidence of volunteer Thorve and K. G. Gupte who do not relate the revolver incident just when gun shots were heard, the Inspector was seen by them being beaten by persons in the crowd and they both conducted the Inspector to a place of safety which they would not have done, if Inspector had committed heinous crime. Again, the evidence of all these persons is falsified by that of Meghanath according to whom both he and the Mamlatdar came from the side of the well after hearing gunshots. No explanation is forthcoming as to the Inspector's motive in wilfully shooting the Mamlatdar and as to the disposal of the revolver after the alleged firing with it. Nobody says that he threw the revolver and if he had thrown it would not have escaped the notice of so many persons standing as said by Shankar. If it is to be assumed that the Inspector consigned the revolver back into his pocket or case, as he was entirely in the charge and under the care for the Congress volunteers till he was brought to Panvel at about 11 p. m. that night, his possession of the revolver would not have escaped the notice of the Congress people; especially because according to the evidence of K. G. Gupte and Thorve the Inspector was even made to wear Khadi cap and Thorve's coat and the Inspector's uniform dress was tied in a bundle with the intention of disguising him.

Moreover the two eye witnesses of the alleged revolver shooting say that they opened their lips of this incident for the first time while giving their depositions before me on the 2nd October. Shankar says that after the firing ceased, he was on the maidan for some time and he met Ambulance Doctor Khare treating wounded men on the maidan and he did not communicate even to him the secret of the Mamlatdar's death. Both the witnesses state that since then till they gave depositions before me (full one week) they visited the Congress office often every day but never imparted the secret to any body not even to the Dictator of the Congress. They further say that they did not even hear others talking over the subject. Here I must refer to the publication in the (*Bombay*) *Chronicle* of 28 September in which it is stated that one Miss Gupte¹ was standing close to the Mamlatdar when he was shot dead. She is said to be the sister of the dictator of the Congress and even witness Shankar says that the said lady was near the Mamlatdar when the Inspector shot him with the revolver. Hence in the ordinary course of things she would have come to know the real cause of the Mamlatdar's death and it would have reached the ears of her brother, the dictator, but both Shankar and Gajanan say that they did not hear anybody talking over the matter.

The first version which appeared in the Congress organs *Free Press* and *Chronicle* never mentioned the revolver incident. For the first time it appeared in the *Free Press Journal* of 28 September as the statement made by Hashiram Budhya in K. E. M. Hospital. It was also mentioned that his statement was recorded as dying declaration by Mr. Jangalwalla, Presidency Magistrate. The development in the version of the Panvel Congress people is traceable to the said publication in the newspaper. Hasha has not made any mention in his dying declaration of revolver nor of the Inspector. His words on the point are : "The police opened fire. One bullet hit Raosaheb (Mamlatdar). I was behind him, running after the Raosaheb, was hit".

Evidently he meant that the shot fired by the policemen hit both him and the Mamlatdar. The *Free Press* publication further says that Hashiram has had a revolver shot passed right through his chest into the back. The Assistant Dean of the K. E. M. Hospital says : " From the post-mortem examination alone, it is not possible to state if the injuries were caused by a revolver shot. No bullet was found in the body of the deceased ".

On the other hand the Assistant Dean says that the patient was brought to the Hospital for treatment for two gunshot wounds, both of which were at the post-mortem examination found to be the result of one shot, ingressand agress. From this it is clear that the Panvel Congress witnesses fabricated the revolver theory relying upon the *Free Press* publication and the fact that the Inspector has lost his revolver. As regards the loss of the revolver the Inspector's explanation is that when he was at the last stage on the hill he gave the revolver and his waist-belt, which contained it, to his orderly. Shantaram for being kept as himself was perspiring through heat. Shantaram corroborates this and says he had kept the articles in his haversack of which he was robbed when he was near the Mamlatdar's dead body to help the Mamlatdar's orderly

¹ Miss Vimal Gupte was the sister of dictator Prabhakar Gupte. The Gupte family was in the vanguard of the movement in Panvel and Chirner.

Ganapat. Ganapat in turn corroborates Shantaram and says that he saw one person having taken away Shantaram's haversack after assaulting him. The haversack contained *pamchanamas* regarding the forest offence, and it is said that the haversack was taken away in order to do away with the proof of forest offence against those who had been arrested and rescued. It is quite possible that some persons on the hill saw the *panchanamas* having been kept in the haversack after the *panchanamas* were written; that the people intended to do away with all traces of the forest offence with which the arrested men were to be charged is apparent from the fact that Forest Guard Narayan was robbed of the attached sickles and pieces of wood. That the people were on that look out also for the *panchanamas* is apparent from the statement of Talathi Karulkar who says that while he was coming down from the hill before the Police officer and men as he apprehended disturbance on the hill, some persons of the crowd who were ascending the hill stopped him and demanded him to hand over the *panchanama*. When the Talathi said that he had not the *panchanama* with him his person was searched and he was saved from further molestation..... This view is strengthened from the following statement in the dying declaration of Hashiram Budhya recorded by the Presidency Magistrate : " The Police brought the arrested men under a banyan tree not far from the hill. The people round about were looking fierce. The Raosaheb was with the people. The Police wanted permission to fire. Raosaheb would not give it. The Police opened fire. I cannot say what happened before the shots were fired ".

This statement is evidently full of meaning. It precludes the idea that peace prevailed on the maidan then. It explains circumstances under which the Mamlatdar got mixed with the fierce-looking crowd, received a stray shot, stray as it must be. It also explains that good deal happened before the shots were fired which the dying man was unable to state.

Further proof is supplied by the 19 Government servants including the Policemen wounded with lathis or stones. One of them as already said is lying in a precarious condition in the Civil Hospital. The Congress organ *Free Press Journal* went to the length of publishing that the whole mortality in the affair and the injuries of all the survivors were the result of gunshot wounds. The Medical Officer of Panvel has stated that of the dead bodies of Government servants, the body only of the Mamlatdar showed the death to have been caused by shot. The bodies of the three constables and the Round Guard Shevde showed that they were murdered. All the wounded Government servants, according to the medical evidence, received injuries with hard substances, such as sticks or stones. It is not unlikely that some others also received injuries from the missiles thrown. But no such persons have stepped forth for treatment at any Government dispensary and I think they would not come forward lest they should furnish evidence of violence on the part of the mob. It is, however, significant that one Congress witness Pandu Dehu, a Kumbhar of Chirner, stated to me that a gunshot which graced his bullock caused a wound. I sent him to the Medical Officer for treatment and the Medical Officer in his evidence says that the wound was not caused by a gunshot. It is pertinent to observe here that Ambulance Doctor Phadke says that both the Ambulance Doctors with their volunteers gave first aid to

about 50 or 60 wounded men on the maidan after the firing had ceased. But only 21 wounded persons have been admitted into the Bombay Hospitals and the Uran dispensary for the treatment of gunshot wounds. I also caused detailed house to house enquiry to be made by village officers in the villages and have ascertained that no others have received gunshot wounds. I therefore think that the figure given by Phadke is either an exaggeration or the number included those who received injuries from missiles.

13. The proof of violence on the part of the mob is furnished also by the localities where the dead bodies of the Policemen and the Round Guard were found to be lying. I have shown in the maps the spots where the bodies were found. The two bodies of the policemen, which were found in paddy fields about midway between the village and the maidan speak of violence after the firing. Obviously, as deposed to by the Policemen, the retreating Police were pursued by the mob upto the entrance of the village and the three constables met with their death at the hands of the pursuing mob. Even after the surviving Policemen entered the *chavadi* at the entrance into the village, they found the mob approaching them which led to the firing on the approaching mob by two of the Policemen who were not fortunately completely exhausted. This shooting led to one or two more casualties amongst the crowds and it is this matter which has been criticised in the Congress organs saying that the offensive (?) shooting was continued by the Police even upto the limits of the village.

But the fact that the dead body of the Round Guard lay on the maidan itself, clearly shows that violence was carried to that extent. The body of the third constable was discovered two days after the incident on the slope of the hill comparatively nearer to the maidan and within a short distance of the foot-path leading to the village. It is possible that this constable was also killed in the course of pursuit by the mob but the spot where the Round Guard's body was lying shows that he met with his death on the scene of riot itself. Unfortunately, controversy arose from the report that the Round Gurad also died of gunshot wound. Obviously, the cause of his death is very important in this case because the body was found lying within a distance of 50 feet of the brooklet from where the firing was opened. There was a bush between the two points. In view of the fact that the body lay within the range of shooting, suspicion would arise that the death was caused by gunshot wound. On the other hand by reason of the body found lying at the place where the disturbance which caused injuries to so many Policemen took place, it is possible that the Round Guard was killed by the mob. It is proved that the disturbance took place between the banyan tree and the brooklet to the west and the body was found lying within that area. While therefore the cause of death of the Round Guard is of vital importance, controversy arose from the report current that he died of gunshot wound. From the condition in which the body was lying, only one wound was prominently visible to by-standers and that was a hole-like wound on the forehead. Obviously none of the side of Government could have had first-hand information as to how the death occurred. The Magistrate is dead and the Police Inspector was himself being beaten, he was sitting under the shelter of Congress people, that both the Mamlatdar and the Forest Guard died of gunshot wounds. You might remember that when we visited the scene in the afternoon of the 26th, we expressed our suspicion that it may not be a gunshot wound and we remarked that the post-mortem examination would throw light.

While the body was lying, only the wound on the forehead was visible to by-standers. But the inquest held over the body at that very place later on 26th shows that on examining the body after turning over and turning on sides it was found that the forearm seemed to have been broken and *apanch* expressed the doubt as to whether the wound on the forehead was caused by gunshot or by the striking of a stone. The post-mortem examination has revealed that there was no gunshot wound on the body but there were fracture of ribs, injury to the left lung, complete fracture of the lower jaw, dislocation of right elbow joint and haemorrhage from the wound of the left eye. Evidently the Round Guard was battered to death. The fact that he was battered to death at the very scene of riot speaks eloquently of extreme violence on the part of the mob. Further, as the body lay within 50 feet of the place from where firing was opened and with the range of firing the crime could not have been committed while the firing was in progress, nor could it have been committed after the firing ceased because the deceased would not remain on the maidan till then and he would have met with his death somewhere else while fleeing just as three Policemen met with their death at the hands of the pursuing mob.

14. It is proved by the evidence of the Medical Officer, Panvel and the 2nd Class Magistrate that some pleaders of Panvel were very impatient about the result of the post-mortem examination of the bodies of the Round Guard and the Magistrate. They approached both these officers to be permitted for keeping a private Medical Practitioner present as the representative of the public rather of the Congress people at the time of the post-mortem examination. Their request having been refused by both the officers they approached me at my camp in Vindhane on the 27th, and you are aware that I declined their request and referred them to the Civil Surgeon on the ground that there was no reason for suspecting the dishonesty of the Government Medical Officer. The deputation of 10 or 12 pleaders came to me for the purpose. In the course of their discussion with me, they said that the Inspector himself has given out that the Round Guard died of gunshot wound. I told them that the Inspector seems to have held the same belief and that it shows his honest belief in what he was informed. This discussion has led to a petition submitted to you on the 6th October. Therein they say that the medical post-mortem examination report in respect of the Round Guard's body was wrong in view of the Inspector's own belief that the Round Guard died of gunshot wound. This argument does not hold any water because it is clear from the evidence of the Congress witnesses themselves, viz., Thorve and K. G. Gupte that the Inspector could not have had a first-hand knowledge of the cause of the Round Guard's death because at least from the time when fire was opened till the Inspector was brought to Panvel, he was entirely in the charge of the Congress people. The Inspector's knowledge was therefore either hearsay 'or derived from the Congress people themselves. As the inquest held before the post-mortem examination also mentions other injuries, the truth of the post-mortem report which could not be disbelieved except for strong and valid reasons, is established. The Medical Officer has lately come to Panvel on transfer and is a person having no concern with the local politics.

The impatience and anxiety exhibited by the pleaders about the Mamlatdar's body was in connection with the astoundingly false theory about the revolver. The evidence of the 2nd Class Magistrate who held inquest over the body in Panvel dispensary, where the body had already been brought, shows that 8 respectable *panchas* were chosen for the inquest. They included 2 pleaders, one private Medical Practitioner, the very person who was present at the scene of riot as Ambulance Doctor. Besides, there was a large crowd of Panvel people gathered. Nevertheless nobody raised even a word of suspicion about the nature of the bullet which hit the deceased. The bullet was not found in the body but only a piece of brass or nickel like metal was found in the shattered portion of the liver. The D. S. P. is of opinion that piece is definitely of 0.303 bullet i.e., of rifle.

15. I have dwelt fully on the evidence on both the sides. The total mortality and the casualties are mentioned below:—

Died—

(a) *Government servants* : (1) K. M. Joshi, Magistrate (shot wound); (2) Hari Narayan Tavate, Policeman; (3) Kashinath Shevade, Round Guard ; (4) .jayaram Babaji, Policeman ; (5) Narayan Pandu Kadam, Policeman.

(b) *Non-Officials*: (1) Raghunath Moru Nhavi; (2) Anandya Maya Patil; (3) Dhakya Gavalya; (4) Parsha Rama; (5) Alya Bemtya; (6) Rama Bama; (7) Hasha Budhya.

Note,—Nos. (1) to (5) died on the day of riot. No. (6) died in J. J. Hospital, Bombay on 27 September and No. (7) in K. E. M. Hospital on 30th.

(Names of wounded not included here)

* * *

16, Finally, I must remark that the scene of satyagraha, situated as it is, could well be compared with a trap and a small posse of Policemen with a posse of volunteers could not have been able to control the situation. The fact that so many Policemen, Police Patil, Forest Guard and other Government servants received injuries coupled with the murder of the Round Guard on the spot leave no room to doubt that the situation was extremely grave before fire was opened. The dying declaration of Hashiram recorded by the Presidency Magistrate, while the man was amongst the Congress, people in a private hospital, confirms the view. Not finding the Inspector and the Mamlatdar when the Policemen were struggling to save their lives, the Major Havaladar seems to have given orders for fire in the right of their private defence. I am of opinion that the trouble began originally from the scare about lathicharge spread by some persons and it was this scare which excited the fury of the mob. I do not think that the mere hand cutting of prisoners would otherwise have excited the fury of the mob to such an extent. The difficulty of controlling a furious mob of 5,000 to 6,000, the greater part of which was armed with sickles and axes, had better be imagined rather than described. The fact that the persons in the mob carried away the attached sickles, *panchanamas* etc., throws light upon their intention. It is proved by the evidence on both the sides that 6 or 7 prisoners, first arrested and sent down ahead, were not handcuffed. It is evident therefrom that handcuffing of the prisoners was not originally the intention of the police and the fact that they had only 4 handcuffs with which they handcuffed 8 or 9 prisoners of the last batch confirms the view. the witnesses support the Inspector's statement that handcuffs were used only when the crowds were approaching.

17. It would not be entirely wrong to pass a verdict of lack of wisdom and prudence against the Police Inspector. He seems to have been overconfident of non-violence on the part of satyagrahis and his organisation of the Police arrangements was not sound. Even the posse of constables taken with him was divided and scattered as the result of his own action. He ought not to have left constables with each prisoner individually at scattered places. His act of parting with the revolver was no doubt indiscreet. The situation was not well maintained. His act of trying to secure the arrested men at any cost in the heart of the jungle, when his forces were scattered, was obviously rash.

18. The Congress Committee of Panvel on the other hand is guilty of having played with fire. Responsible members of the Congress Committee stayed behind and sent only a posse of irresponsible boys and volunteers to control the fury of mob of 5,000. As matter of fact one of the volunteers and probably a few more by spreading the scare further excited the fury of the mob. After having thus let loose the forces of the mob against a posse of Policemen, they subsequently made a futile attempt to save the Policemen from the hands of the infuriated mob. The whole affair is nothing but the self impeachment of the *modus operandi* of the Congress Committee. Their attempt to have it believed that the entire mortality and all the casualties were caused by the shots fired by the Police is obviously calculated to save the movement from the ignominy. This explains why their story was developed from day to day and they went to the length of insinuating that the Mamlatdar was assassinated by the Inspector.

**Hamid A. Ali, D. M. Kolaba to Secretary to Govt.
Home Department**

Camp Matheran, 24 October 1930.

I have the honour to offer the following remarks on the report of the S.D. M., N. D. regarding the disturbance in the Chirner forest, forwarded with this office letter dated 16-10-1930. Mr, Koundinya's report is so complete and detailed and so well reasoned as to leave me little to say.

The procedure of inquiry described in para 3 ought to remove all misgiving as to fairness and all suspicion of the inquiry being one-sided. I had doubts about non-officials, especially Congressmen, coming forward to give their statements, but, as a matter of fact, only too many were anxious to have their statements recorded with the result that many had to be sent away disappointed.

The violent propaganda carried on by the Panvel Congress Committee through meetings, *patrikas* etc., prior to the disturbance has been described. The material which this propaganda worked on was highly inflammable. The Agris are known as an ignorant, excitable and irresponsible community. The riot near Chirner mentioned by the S. D. M. in para 4 is an instance of these characteristics. About a year ago, the Patil of Chirner and another man, trying to settle a local dispute, were beaten by the villagers. It is not surprising that the satyagrahis failed to control the excited mob of Agris in the present disturbance, and the likelihood of such failure ought to have been foreseen.

The immediate cause of the disturbance is not quite clear. Some link seems missing. I attach a copy of a report to the D. F. O. by the Range Forest Officer, which makes mention of the Police Inspector slapping one of the arrested men. This is also mentioned in the statement given by beat guard Sathe before the D. F. O. The R. F. O. was not found by the S. D. M. in a suite to give a coherent account of what had happened, while the beat guard failed to mention the slap before the S. D. M. Whether a slap was actually given or not, a rumour arose that the Inspector had beaten one of the arrested men ; this had been exaggerated into a lathi charge by the time the news reached the maidan, and then the mob got out of hand.

It is clear that; of the Government servants, only the Mamlatdar died of a gunshot wound. Also that the bullet that killed the Mamlatdar was of a 303 rifle and not of a revolver or a musket. None of the villagers carried firearms. The other officials were brutally murdered by the mob.

I think that the action of the Police party, separated from the Mamlatdar and the Inspector and attacked by a menacing crowd, was justified. Many of them were wounded, they were twenty against several thousands. The protection of their own lives must have seemed to them the supreme need. The conduct of the Police Inspector is more open to criticism, though I expect it is comparatively easy to be wise after the event. His position was extremely difficult. However, his parting with his revolver and ammunition and his making arrests on the spot instead of merely recording names, and his sending the Police party down in ones and twos with prisoners certainly do not seem acts of discretion, I am afraid the R. F. O. lost his nerve completely and remained dazed for several days after the incidents.

I fail to see anything wrong in the procedure followed in the post-mortem examinations. It is clearly impracticable to have a committee of doctors sitting over corpses and risking a conflict of opinions, which may or may not be influenced by preformed views.

* * *

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**Hamid A. Ali, D. M. to Dy. Secretary to Govt.
Home Department**

Alibag, 5 November 1930.

With reference to your Express letter No. S. D. 4876, dated 31 October 1930, I have the honour to state that Mr. Koundinya did not refuse to examine any specific witnesses but, with my previous approval, merely stopped the inquiry after all points of importance had, in his opinion, been sufficiently elucidated and the prescribed dates, for presentation of witnesses extended by two days, had passed.

I have not taken any action in regard to the invitation of the non-official committee. The inquiry itself has been banned under Section 144, Cr. P. C. within the limits of Panvel taluka including Uran Mahal. I can of course, not give any information to the Committee, before the cases, to be filed, soon, are decided.

* * *

The Bombay Chronicle

7 January 1931 (Extract).

A representative committee of Bombay citizens has been formed for giving all possible legal and financial aid to the accused who are facing trial at Panvel in what is known as the Chirner Firing Case. The Committee propose to extend help to victims of the Chirner firing as also the dependents of the victim. The committee appeal to the public of Bombay to subscribe to the fund. The Committee consists of Mr. K. M. Munshi, Advocate, President, Mr. B. G. Kher, Solicitor, Vice-President, Members:—Messrs, Lalji Naranji, Raja, Narayanlal Bansilal, L. B. Bhopatkar, Nagindas T. Master, Solicitor, Treasurer, Bhausahab Puranik of Panvel. Secretaries:— Messrs, S. C. Joshi, Advocate and H. M. Joshi.

The Bombay Chronicle

2 February 1931 (Extract).

The curtain was rung down on the Chirner Firing Case at Panvel when Mr. R. R. Sonalkar, the special Magistrate, committed all the 47 accused to Sessions on Friday,

The case, it will be recalled, arose out of the forest satyagraha that was practised at Akkadevi Hill, near Chirner, on September 25 when the Police resorted to firing and as a result Mr. Joshi, the Mamlatdar of Panvel, two police constables and two employees of the Forest Department were killed. The accused came from Panvel, Chirner and several surrounding villages. The accused are charged under various Sections of the I. P. C. for forming an unlawful assembly, assaulting Government servants, obstructing them in their lawful activities, murder, theft and dacoity, etc.

Dr. M. B. Velkar of Bombay was present in the court and interviewed the accused. Miss Vimal Gupte, the young daughter of accused No. 17, Mr. Keshav Ganesh Gupte, was also present in the court.

In committing the accused to Sessions the Magistrate observed that there was evidence to show that all the accused except Nos. 25 and 46, Mr. Vedak and Mr. Bedekar, were present at Chirner on September 25 and that they were members of unlawful assembly, they attacked Government servants and obstructed them in their lawful work. They had assembled to commit murder, and dacoity and obstructed the Police Inspector; Patil Shivram, Police Patil of Chirner ; Sathe, Beat Guard; S. G. Desai, Daulat Sakharam, B. L. Kadam, Ghosalkar and Antu Ganpat, constables in their work and caused them injuries. They also caused injury to Krishna Anant and murdered Jayaram Savant, Kadam, Tavate and Shevade, the Forest Round Guard. He therefore, held them guilty under Sections 147, 148, 332, 333, 379, 395 and 382 I. P. C, the last five Sections read with Section 109 I. P. C. and he, therefore, committed them to Sessions,

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N. C. Kelkar, President, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha to Sir Fredrick Sykes

Poona, 23 March 1931.

I have the honour, on behalf of the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona, to submit for favourable consideration by Government, the following representation for the release of those premiers who are committed for trial before the Sessions Judge at Thana in connection with the events that took place at Chirner in the Panvel taluka of the Kolaba district on 25 September last and which are popularly known as the Chirner Tragedy.

The Sabha is aware that it is not usual to make representations about matters awaiting judicial trial and inquiry ; nor has the Sabha any intention directly or indirectly to comment on matters which are *sub-judice*. I am not, therefore, entering into the merits of the trial that is about to commence on the 23rd inst, at Thana.

Under the terms of what is known as the Irwin-Gandhi agreement, thousands of persons, who were technically guilty of offences not involving violence or moral turpitude, have been already released or are being released, and the Sabha submits that on a fair interpretation of that agreement, the accused concerned in the Chirner tragedy should be regarded as coming within the political amnesty.

It will be remembered that the events of 25 September 1930 at Chirner arose out of what is called the forest satyagraha, an item in the programme of the Civil Disobedience Movement, which has now been discontinued in pursuance of the Irwin-Gandhi agreement. It, therefore, follows that those who were convicted or are undergoing trial for offering this civil disobedience should be released. I may state that out of the 47 undertrial prisoners in the abovementioned case as many as 37 are charged with only technical offences ; the alleged theft. if any, the alleged dacoity and the alleged conspiracy were all a part of the Civil Disobedience Movement, and, therefore, the accused are, I submit, entitled to the benefit of the political amnesty. Among the thousands of prisoners who are being released a large number were convicted either for selling or manufacturing salt or for raiding salt depots. The Sarvajanik Sabha respectfully submits that no distinction can be justly drawn between the salt satyagrahis and the forest satyagrahis.

Of the remaining, four are charged with assaulting the Police during the forest satyagraha. I submit that under a generous interpretation of the Irwin-Gandhi agreement these also are entitled to the benefit of the amnesty.

Only six out of 47 charged with murder. The Sabha does not countenance any violence and cannot plead anything in extenuation of those who may have committed murder ; but I would respectfully submit that the whole object of the Irwin-Gandhi Settlement is to create an atmosphere favourable to the success of the Round Table Conference, and that object cannot be better secured than by giving free pardon even to those who may be suspected of having resorted to violence. This submission of mine is strengthened by the recent speech of the Hon'ble Home Member exhorting the public to forget and to forgive. The Home Member's appeal is applicable as much to the excesses committed by the public as to those committed by Government Officers, and the Sabha pleads that even these six accused at Thana might be given the benefit of a pardon.

The Government have nothing to lose and everything to gain by stretching the spirit of the agreement much further than they have done : and the good-will that will result therefrom will have a wholesome effect on public opinion during the eventful months that are ahead. I submit that in these circumstances the best interests of the Government and the public will be served by the immediate release of the 47 undertrial prisoners in , whose behalf this representation has been made.

As Government are aware in deference to a strong public opinion in Maharashtra this Sabha had appointed a committee of inquiry into the Chirner incidents sometime ago. The committee consisted of public men of long standing undoubted probity and great ability. The chairman of the committee has informed me that the committee has made a unanimous report. If and when the said report will be published, the committee's conclusions on the question of violence will be found to be widely different from the case for the prosecution, now pending at Thana, and there is every probability of the faith of the public in the acumen of the judiciary being shaken ; and on this ground also I submit that the pending prosecution may be-withdrawn and the accused released forthwith.

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R. N. Mandlik to Secretary to Govt. Political Department

Poona, 23 March 1931.

I have been authorised as a president of the public meeting held at Karjat, District Kolaba, on 19th March 1930 to forward the following two resolutions unanimously passed at the meeting.

That this meeting of the residents of the Karjat taluka in the Kolaba District humbly request the Government to commute the death sentences passed on Bhagatsing, Rajguru and Sukhadeo in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, in view of the Gandhi-Irwin settlement.

That this meeting of the residents of the Karjat Taluka in the Kolaba District humbly requests the Government to withdraw Meerat and Chirner cases, with a view to create peaceful atmosphere for settlement of the political problem at the Round Table Conference.

The proceedings of the meeting were conducted in Marathi, the above is the substance of the two resolutions passed at the meeting.

I trust that the Government will be pleased to pay its earnest attention to the above resolutions.

The Times of India

24 March 1931 (Extract).

The trial of the accused in the Chirner Forest Satyagraha Case commenced before Mr. B. N. Sanjana, Sessions Judge, Thana, on Monday morning. A large crowd of spectators who had come to witness the proceedings was held up by the police outside the court premises as there was no accommodation in the court room. All the 47 accused appeared in the dock with Gandhi caps on.

Mr. W. B. Pradhan of Bombay conducted the Prosecution, while Mr. R. P. Karandikar and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar defended the accused.

* * *

The Times of India

3 July 1931 (Extract).

Judgment was delivered by Mr. B N. Sanjana, Sessions Judge. Thana, on Thursday, in the sensational case known as the Chirner Forest Satyagraha Case in which forty-seven persons were charged with various offences which included murder, dacoity, unlawful assembly and rioting. The jury returned unanimous verdict of not guilty against all the accused on all the charges, both as jurors and assessors: but the Judge, disagreeing with the verdict, convicted twenty-nine accused and sentenced five of them (accused Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) to an aggregate of three years rigorous imprisonment.

* * *

Eighteen accused were acquitted.

As regards accused Nos. 2,3,4 and 5 who were also charged under Section 149 read with Section 302 (murder), the Judge being satisfied that there was sufficient evidence against them referred the matter to the High Court.

In passing the sentence His Honour took into consideration the prolonged period for which the accused were under trial and observed that there was no statutory law for him to take judicial notice of the pact between the Government and Mr. Gandhi, but it rested with the Government to interpret and apply it. His Honour also gave thirty days, time for the accused to pay up their fines.

The names of the accused were—

(1) I. G. Narangikar	(2) V. A. Narangikar
(3) T. V. Mokal	(4) M. K. Patil
(5) H.B. Kharpatil	(6) N. C. Mokal
(7) A. S. Patil	(8) A. M. Povale
(9) J. S. Vani	(10) M. B. Povale
(11) S. K. Povale	(12) P. A. Mhatre
(13) A. N. Narangikar	(14) J. K. Pole

(15)	B. P. Patil	(16)	P. K. Mhatre
(17)	K. G. Gupte	(18)	D. J. Mhatre
(19)	G.B.'Chirlekar	(20)	R. D. Narangikar
(21)	B. G. Bhoperkar	(22)	R. M. Mokal
(23)	T. K. Thakur	(24)	G. A. Narangikar
(25)	V. M. Vedak	(26)	K. Z. Patil
(27)	K. R. Patil	(28)	M. H. Mhatre
(29)	P. K. Pole	(30)	D. N. Gondhali
(31)	N. D. Khare	(32)	S. N. Pandav
(33)	M. G. Mankame	(34)	B. A. Chirlekar
(35)	T. G. Mhatre	(36)	H. P. Saikar
(37)	U.H.Mokal	(38)	N. H. Patil
(39)	D. H. Patil	(40)	S. G. Thakur
(41)	S. B. Patil	(42)	H. G. Mhaire
(43)	G. T. Thakur	(44)	T. N. Bedekar
(45)	Chango Patil	(46)	Kamlya Sandhu
(47)	ManyaKamlya Mhatre.		

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M. K. Gandhi to R. M. Maxwell, Private Secretary to Governor of Bombay

Bombay, 10 July 1931.

You will recall the Chirner case. According to the judgement of the Sessions Judge, 20 accused were held not guilty of any violence.....These accused were fined according to the sums marked against their names with varying terms of imprisonment in default of payment of fine. As you will observe from the footnote to the list of the names, the Judge has allowed 30 day's time to pay up the fines on proper security being furnished. These men have given security. As you will observe, judgment was given on the 2nd inst. As these cases clearly come under the settlement I ask for the remission of their fines. I hope that the matter will receive early attention.

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G. F. S. Collins to M. J. Dikshit, D. M., Thana

D.O.No.8252/2-II.

Poona, 26 July 1931.

As you are probably aware, the Sessions Judge sentenced several of the accused in the Chirner case to fines only and said that while he had no judicial knowledge of the Delhi Pact, Government would no doubt decide how far their cases came within its limits. Since then. Government have received several applications to remit the fines

according to that Pact, but as they have tender consideration the question of appealing against the Sessions Judge's decision, they have not been able to take any action on the petitions. The Sessions Judge allowed one month to pay the fines and took security from the accused accordingly. This period will, I understand, elapse on the 1st of August. If Government decided not to appeal and the sentences stood as they are, the fines would have to be remitted under the Pact. Presumably the accused will have to appear before the Court on August 1st. As therefore, it is unlikely that the decision on the question of appeal will be reached by that date, I am to request you to instruct the Public Prosecutor, or whoever, appears on behalf of Government. to state that Government will have no objection if the proceedings for recovery of the fines are adjourned.

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Government of Bombay, Home Department

Resolution No. T. 19.

Poona, 1 August 1931.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 401. Criminal Procedure Code, 1898, the Governor in Council is pleased to suspend, without conditions and until further notice, execution of sentence of fine and imprisonment in default, passed by the Sessions Judge. Thana, on the 2 July 1931. against the persons mentioned in the accompanying list.¹

Bombay Chronicle

25 November 1931 (Extract).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Patkar and the Hon. Mr. Justice Barlee delivered judgement on Tuesday in the reference and appeals in the sensational Chirner forest Satyagraha riot case. Their Lordships gave separate but concurrent judgements dismissing both the reference and appeal. In the result the four persons who were accused of the murder of three police constables and of being members of an unlawful assembly were acquitted of the charges and the convictions and sentences passed by the Sessions Judge on nine persons, including the four charged with murder, on charges of rioting and causing hurt were confirmed.

Their Lordships found in regard to the Sessions Judge's reference that the evidence on behalf of the prosecution, unless it was stretched against the accused by a process of inferential reasoning bordering on surmise, was not sufficient for their conviction on charges of murder and being members of an unlawful assembly. The four accused in the reference who were brought to the court every day during the hearing were not present when judgement was delivered.

* * *

¹Not reproduced here.

The Sessions Judge disagreeing with the verdict in respect of 29 of the accused convicted them and sentenced them to various terms of imprisonment and fines. He also found that four of the accused, namely, Vithu Ambaji Narangikar, Tukaram Vithu Mokal, Maya Kanya Patil and Hasha Balu Kharpatil were guilty of offences under Section 140 (being members of an unlawful assembly) and 302 (murder) and referred their cases to the High Court.

These four accused along with five others were also convicted on charges of being members of an unlawful assembly, rioting and causing hurt and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 15 months to three years. Against these convictions there were appeals.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Palkar in delivering judgement dealt first with the reference made by the Sessions Judge. In regard to the death of the Round Guard Shevde. he observed, it was suggested by the defence that he was killed by a bullet wound and not by mob fury. Having regard to the evidence on that point it could not be said that if the jury came to the conclusion that Shevde died of gunshot wound, it was a conclusion which could not be reached by reasonable men.

It was, however, unnecessary to go into the question as accused No. 7 who was implicated in connection with his death had been acquitted both by the jury and the Judge. As regards the deaths of the three constables, Kadam, Savant and Tavte, there was no doubt that they were caused by mob fury.

The question then was, continued 1 His Lordship, whether the four accused had been shown beyond any reasonable doubt to be members of the unlawful assembly whose common object was to murder the three constables. There were in all 15 witnesses on the point of the assault on these constables. Ten of these witnesses were villagers and five belonged to the official party, Taking the evidence as a whole and disregarding the comments made in cross-examination of the several witnesses and believing the prosecution evidence as a whole, it appeared that there were two attacks on Kadam and Savant and two on Tavte.

There seemed to be different parties attacking different persons at different times. It would, therefore, follow that accused Vithu Ambaji Narangikar, Tukaram Vithu Mokal and Maya Patil, if they took part in committing an assault on Kadam and Savant, were not members of the unlawful assembly which committed the murder of the two police constables. further, if the evidence of two other prosecution witnesses was to be believed, accused Hasha Baba Kharpatil took part in the first attack on Tavte, but the constable was not killed by the party of which the accused was a member.

It was urged by the Advocate General that if those discrepancies in the evidence on behalf of the prosecution led to the inevitable conclusion that the accused were not members of an unlawful assembly who committed the murders of Kadam, Savant and Tavte, they should be held guilty of a minor offence, namely being members of an unlawful assembly and causing grievous hurt to public servants in the discharge of their duties, if Posu and Balaram, two of the important prosecution witnesses, were to be believed it would inevitably follow that the accused could not be held guilty of being members of an unlawful assembly and murder.

The question whether they should be convicted under the lesser offence of being members of an unlawful assembly and causing grievous hurt was a matter of inference and unless it was clearly proved that Kadam, Savant and Tavte received grievous hurt at the time of the first attack made on them by the batches of the assailants of which the accused were members, it would be difficult to hold that they were guilty, of those offences.

"Having regard to the circumstances, " added His Lordship, " It is difficult to say that the jury was perverse in acquitting the four accused of the offences under Section 149 (Unlawful assembly) and 302 (murder). The evidence on behalf of the prosecution, unless it is stretched against the accused by a process of inferential reasoning bordering on surmise, is not sufficient for their conviction on those charges. I think that the reference should be dismissed and they should be acquitted on the charge of being members of an unlawful assembly and murder. "

As regards the appeals filed by the above four accused and the original accused Nos. 12, 15, 16 and against their convictions on charges of being members of an unlawful assembly, rioting and causing hurt, his Lordship thought there was sufficient evidence of their guilt and confirmed the convictions. It was urged on behalf of accused No. 15 who was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment, and accused No. 1 and the four accused in the reference, who were sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment each, that the sentences were excessive and should be reduced. Having regard to the circumstances of the case, the Judge did not think that there was any ground to reduce the sentences.

Mr. Justice Barlee delivered a concurrent judgement and both judges expressed their thanks to the learned Advocate General and Mr. H. C. Koyaji (Counsel for the appellants) for their able and clear arguments which considerably assisted their Lordships in going through the voluminous records of the intricate case.

Free Press Journal

28 November 1931 (Extract).

The secretaries of the Chirner Defence and Relief Committee have sent the following statement to the Press for publication.

It is over a year since the Chirner tragedy was enacted. The judgement in the Chirner Case has now been delivered by the High Court. The Reference made by the Sessions Judge in respect of four accused, charged with being members of an unlawful assembly having the common object of committing murder, and the appeals filed by nine accused against order of conviction passed against them were both dismissed. Though the sentence of three years' imprisonment passed against five accused and the sentence of 1 1/2 years' imprisonment passed against one accused are confirmed, it is a matter of great satisfaction that no one has been found guilty on a charge of murder.

There was firing on the 25 September 1930 on the occasion of the forest satyagraha at Chirner and as a result seven persons from the public and five Government servants were killed while a number of persons were wounded. The Government immediately started investigation into the offences alleged to have been committed by the people in this affair and arrests of persons began from the 12 October 1930. In all 47 persons were prosecuted under various Sections of the Indian Penal Code. The case commenced on the 23rd December 1930 before the Special Magistrate Mr. Sonalkar at Panvel. After taking the evidence of the prosecution he committed the case to the Sessions on 2 February 1931.

Thereafter Government ordered the case to be tried by Mr. Gundil, Assistant Sessions Judge at Alibag with the aid of Assessors. The accused, however, applied to the High Court for setting aside the order and the High Court passed an Order directing the case to be tried at Thana before a Jury. The case was accordingly tried at Thana before the Session Judge, Mr. Sanjana and a Jury from 23 March 1931 to 2 July 1931. The Jury gave a verdict of not guilty for all the accused on all the charges. The Sessions Judge, however, sentenced five accused to three years' imprisonment, one accused to one and half years' imprisonment. Three accused to Six months' imprisonment and twenty accused to a fine from Rs. 100 to 200 each, and made a reference to the High Court in respect of four accused on the charge of their being members of an unlawful assembly having the common object to commit murder. The High Court has now given its decision as mentioned above. Our Committee was formed and a fund was raised for conducting the defence of the accused and for giving relief to the relatives of the accused, the persons wounded in the firing and the relatives of the persons killed. The public have contributed liberally to the fund, with the result that satisfactory arrangement for the defence of the accused could be made and some relief could be given to the afflicted persons. We therefore heartily thank all who contributed to the fund and gave other assistance to our Committee.

We also offer over heartfelt thanks to the following lawyers who worked at Panvel, namely, Mr. K. N. Dharap, Mr. V. R. Karandikar, Bar-at-law. Messrs. R. K. Pandke, R. B. Vaishampayan, G. R. Shringarpure and Shankarrao Patki. those who appeared at Thana, namely, Dadasaheb Karandikar. Dr. Ambedkar, Messrs. B. R. Damle. K. N. Dharap, Mr. V. R. Karandikar, Bar-at-law, Messrs. V. A. Rege, K. R. Godbole. S. A. Tendulkar, V. G. Karmarkar, D. K. Sathe and V. R. Gupte: and those in the Bombay High Court namely Messrs. H.C. Koyaji, and K. N. Dharap and Karandikar for the great pains they took, the valuable time which they spent and the sincerity with which they worked in defending the accused. It is equally necessary to give our hearty thanks to Mr. Haribhau Joshi, the secretary of the Committee for the unceasing efforts he made for raising the fund and otherwise arranging for the defence.

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Weekly Letter from D. M., Kolaba

7 January 1932 (Extract).

The same afternoon Hari Moreshwar Joshi brought Mr. Vithalbhair Patel from Bombay for the opening ceremony of the obelisk at Chirner. The ceremony took place at 4 O'Clock in the presence of about 500 people. Besides Vithalbhair, there were present Jamnadas Mehta. Karandikar, Bedekar. K. G. Gupte, Chapsi Purshottam and R. A. Patwardhan. T. N. Bedekar, introducing Vithalbhair. referred to his sacrifices of health and position for the national cause. He said that the bad treatment given to Vithalbhair in jail put his life in danger and government were compelled to release him in order to avoid disgrace. Referring next to the Chirner incident, he said that the report of the non-official committee presided over by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta clearly showed that Government (meaning the police) were responsible for the firing. Mr. Vithalbhair Patel in his speech attached much importance to the report of the non-official committee and expressed the opinion that there had been no provocation on the part of the people and that the police were not justified in opening fire. Joshi, Mamlatdar and four other Government officials who lost their lives in carrying out orders and were innocent should be considered as five volunteers of the swarajya. When he was not allowed to meet Gandhiji he was convinced that the Irwin-Gandhi Pact had died. The more non-violent they were the better they would succeed. If, on the other hand, they resorted to violence in protecting themselves, they would dig their own graves, Every man and woman must boycott British goods.

Karandikar, in winding up the function, said that the names of all those that had fallen had been inscribed on the obelisk—the names of the police in front and those of the villagers at the back—and that he would call the obelisk the " Peace Obelisk ".

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Order of S. Aminuddin, D. M., Kolaba

No. 172 of 1932.

4 June 1932.

The District Magistrate is satisfied that the inscription on the stone obelisk (standing in a plot in the Chirner *gaathan* belonging to one Antaji Mahadev Powale) in question is of such a nature as to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India and falls within the purview of Sections 4 (1) (d) and (f) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act XXIII of 1931. It is, therefore, a newssheet within the provisions of the Act and an unauthorised newssheet within the provisions of Section 2(10).

The District Magistrate hereby orders the Police Sub-Inspector, Panvel under S. 16(1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, to seize the said obelisk as an unauthorized newssheet and produce the same before the Magistrate 1 class, Panvel under Section 16(3). The execution of the order should be communicated to the District Magistrate, for taking action by him under Section 16(4) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931.

Weekly Report, 12 June 1932, from D. M., Kolaba

10 June 1932(Extracts).

The destruction of the Chirner obelisk was effected without opposition and has evoked no criticism beyond mild comments in the *Kolaba Samachar* and the *Prabhat*

The Pratiyogi, 8 June 1932 and the Konkan

10 June 1932 (Extracts).

Referring to the demolition of the Chirner Satyagraha Memorial the *Pratiyogi* writes :—No explanation has so far come from Government as to under whose orders and under what authority the Chirner Memorial was pulled down by the District Superintendent of Police, Kolaba. We think that such conduct on the part of the Government is not authorised by the present Ordinances. It is necessary for the Government to explain under what authority the memorial standing in a private place was suddenly pulled down. If any infringement of authority has taken place in demolishing the memorial the officer responsible for it ought to be punished. The *Konkan* remarks that the Government did not approve of the Chirner forest Satyagraha but that fact had nothing to do with the memorial because the satyagrahis were prosecuted and sentenced. The paper expresses regret that Government did not exhibit the balance of mind in regard to the Chirner Memorial which they ought to have exhibited.

Bombay Chronicle

8 March 1935 (Extract).

" As I hold that the writing complained of falls under the definition of newssheet, the Plaintiffs are not entitled to a declaration and injunction. " With these remarks Mr. L. C. Sheth, the First Class, Sub-Judge at Thana, dismissed with costs this afternoon the Chirner Minar Demolition case.

The Sub-Judge came to the conclusion that Court had no jurisdiction to try the suit in view of the Section 30 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act. The defendants proved that the inscribed stones were unauthorised newssheet within the meaning of Section 4(1) (d) and (f) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act read with Section 77 of the Special Powers Ordinance 10 of 1932. but the defendants did not prove that their seizure under Section 16(1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act was legal, and that the entry by the defendants on the plaintiffs' land and demolition of the obelisk were necessary and legal.

The Sub-Judge held that it was not necessary to give his finding whether the court had power to grant relief or not.

The court found that as the plaintiffs did not prove that loss was caused to them by the acts of the defendants, they were not entitled to claim the amounts of damages from the defendants or any of them. The second and third defendants could not be held liable. The plaintiffs were not entitled to declaration and injunction sought.

* * *

The Sub-Judge, in dismissing the suit, ordered that the plaintiffs and the fifth defendant (Mr. Ramchandra Anant Patwardhan, a member of the Chirner Memorial Committee) to pay the costs of the first three defendants and bear their own. The fourth defendant (Mr. Anant Mahadeo Powale) to bear his own costs.

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**J. M. Sladen, Secretary to Govt, of Bombay to
T. N. Bedekar, Secretary, Chirner Memorial
Committee**

S. D. 2151.

Poona, 26 August 1938.

In continuation of this Department letter No. S. D. 2010 .10, dated 8 August 1938. I am directed to state that orders have been issued today waiving the recovery of costs awarded to Government by the Courts of the First Class Subordinate Judge, Thana, and the District Judge, Thana, in the Chirner Memorial case. The District Magistrate, Kolaba, has been directed also to return the stones of the Memorial if there are any still remaining undestroyed.

* * *

Bombay Sentinel

26 September 1938 (Extract).

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Soon after taking meals, a score of buses started for Chirner, about 14 miles off from Panvel. the scene of the forest satyagraha.

The stones of the Chirner Minar, restored recently to the Panvel Congress Committee were taken in a procession to the accompaniment of bands. Mr. Munshi was accompanied by Mr. H. M. Willis, Collector of Kolaba. Mr. S. V. Tilak, President, Kolaba District Congress Committee, Mr. Azad, D. S. P. Mr. H. M. Joshi of *Lokashsakti* and others. He was received at the meeting place in great excitement and with unprecedented enthusiasm. The meeting place was decorated. Mr. T. N. Bedekar briefly told the whole Chirner story and requested Mr. Munshi to lay the foundation stone.

Having laid the foundation stone. Mr. Munshi began his inspiring address in simple Hindustani. He paid an eloquent tribute to the heroism and sacrifice of the satyagraha martyrs as well as the officials who had done their duty, and proceeded to observe that by the magic of the old man of Segaon salyagrahi convicts like himself and his Chief Mr. B. G. Kher, had become the Government of the Bombay Presidency and he had to face the difficult task of adjudicating between the cases of his subordinate police officials and Congress volunteers.

"What you have to remember is to stand upright, stand by what you consider right, act fearlessly and truthfully and if you do that no power on earth can deprive you of your heritage, by which I understand Poorna Swaraj." These were Mr. Munshi's concluding words to the crowd of over a thousand villagers who had gathered to hear him at Chimer.

Mr. Munshi was then introduced to about 40 people, who were accused in the big riot case which followed the forest satyagraha. Two of them are dead, whose memory was recalled by all with due respect.

* * *

Bombay Chronicle

4 January 1939 (Extract).

"The column just unveiled is to my mind an emblem of the obedience and self-sacrifice of the martyrs and a clarion call to the Nation to cultivate the unfailing virtues of fearlessness and stern character." In these stirring words, the Honourable Mr. B. G. Kher, the Premier, unveiled last evening at Chirner, the Chirner Memorial in the presence of a large gathering of about 5,000 persons, mostly agriculturists from surrounding places. The audience included almost all district officers and Congress workers of Panwel.

* * *

Amidst deafening cheers the Honourable Mr. Kher unveiled the column and delivered an impassioned oration in Marathi. The Premier said that the lesson of Chirner was Ahimsa and Peace, and that in future it would be a place of pilgrimage for the soldiers of freedom movement. Proceeding, he explained the Congress aims and ideals and assured the vast concourse of agriculturists that the Congress Ministry was doing their best for their uplift and that various schemes were under consideration. The Congress, he averred, is non-communal in character and the swaraj we would bring would not be a swaraj of this class or that, but swaraj of all and for all.

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PART-IV

REPORT ON INDIAN NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

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Report on Indian Native Newspapers

Selected extracts from various Indian Native Newspapers in Bombay,. Presidency, commenting on the events and happenings during civil disobedience movement are furnished below. These extracts would enable the students of the civil disobedience movement to study the documents, furnished in the earlier parts of this volume, in a proper perspective.

Editor

**Report on Indian Newspapers Published in the
Bombay Presidency for the Week ending
25th October 1930**

**Comments on the Police action against the
Flag Salutation on the Esplanade, Bombay.
*Bombay Chronicle, 27th Oct. 1930.***

Speaking at a dinner given by the Governor of Bombay to the retiring Ministers, Diwan Bahadur Desai appealed to the Governor and the Home Member "to avoid any course of action that was at all likely to leave bitterness behind, as Englishmen and Indians would still have to continue to live and work together". A similar warning was uttered by Sriyut Purshottamdas Thakurdas, a non-Congressman and one of the leaders of the Indian mercantile community.

Bombay had Government's response within two days in Sunday's tragedy. It was not only an intensification of old methods; the lathi-charges were more severe and drew a greater amount of blood than ever before. But a grossly ugly novelty was also introduced on this blackest of all days that Bombay has had to witness for the preservation of its public peace. Out of the ladies arrested at Azad Maidan 14, 4 of them girls of 14 years, were taken to a jungle 16 miles from Bombay made to get down on the road and left stranded there. But for the fortunate arrival of a motor car with two Indian gentlemen in it what would have been their fate? What is that code of moral ethics or Law of British India, under which the ladies were so treated? Are all obligations of courtesy to women to be set aside where the bureaucracy has to deal with satyagrahis? Mr. Desai appealed to the Governor and the Home Member, Sir Ernest Hotson has already been an eye-witness to a lathi-charge. Does the revival of old methods mean that he continues to bless them?

What about Sir Frederick Sykes? Does he believe? We wish he had been present on Sunday in gruesome lathi-charges against non-violent satyagrahis and in leaving women in a jungle as specifies for honourable opposition to repression.

There is the experience of so many lathi charges, and their inevitable reactions culminating in those of morning and evening. Is it still hoped to beat down and suppress a Nation?

For the Week ending 1 November 1930

Free Press Journal, 28th Oct. 1930.

The forces of reaction and revolution clashed on Sunday as was anticipated. Revolution won the day. There was no mistaking the fact. The Congress executive deputed in all about two hundred volunteers to carry out its behest and to hoist the national flag on the Azad Maidan. But, thanks to the blundering and bungling methods of the Bureaucracy, not two hundred but twenty thousand citizens, men and women, found their way to the Azad Maidan, took the risk of suffering the lathi-charges and testified publicly to their voluntary allegiance to the National Flag and the outlawed Congress. The reason why the citizens of Bombay had no hesitation in proclaiming their allegiance to the flag and the Congress is simple, although the bureaucracy will never understand the simple truth. The citizens were confronted on Sunday not with questions of respect for Law and Order or defiance of Law and Order. Nor were they confronted with questions of the abstruse rights and wrongs of the question. What the citizens accepted as confronting them was the brute force of an alien administration doing violence to person and property because Congress volunteers dared to assert the elementary right of citizenship, namely the salutation of the National Flag became an insult to the manhood and womanhood of India. The flag stood for the conception of a free India in enjoyment of Swaraj. That flag was made the target of attack of the Empire's might and young boys and girls who dared to assert their right to honour the emblem of the nation's aspirations were brutally assaulted. Viewed from this point of view, the-citizens had no alternative, at least that is significance of Sunday's events. In tens of thousands, citizens of all communities of all ages, of all education and both men and women hastened to the Maidan and testified to their allegiance to the flag. The bureaucracy bungled badly enough when it declared as unlawful an association which whatever its anti-British activities, functioned openly and directly under the officials eye. But the ban on Sunday's ceremony made matters worse. And the manner, in which the ban was enforced, condemned the executive to ignominious defeat from the beginning. The official volunteers of the Congress, both men and women, made no attempt at masquerade at all. They were in their uniform and Haunted their badges. The strictest requirements of the law would have been fulfilled if the authorities had been content to arrest the volunteers who sought to defy the Police ban and who made no resistance to arrests. In fact, when the police did content themselves with arresting only the first two batches of volunteers without resort to lathi, the citizens were content to remain spectators. There were no cries of shame, no flaunting of the flag. Psychology is certainly not the strong point of the bureaucracy. If it were, the bureaucracy would refrain from pursuing methods which threaten to lose the allegiance of all citizens for the existing system of Government. The subsequent developments like the spiriting away of some of the arrested ladies outside the city and leaving them in the midst of a jungle, the unfortunate incident complained of, in respect of a sergeant and the severe sentences have only aggravated matters. No bureaucracy can successfully fight a whole nation. Sooner the bureaucracy learns the simple truth, the better for its masters.

For the Week ending 8 November 1930

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's reply to the President of the Bombay Municipality on the subject of lathi-charges by the Police.

Bombay Samachar, 8th Nov.

The reply received by Mr. Husainbhai Abdullabhai Lalji, the President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, to the letter which he had written to His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes to ascertain what Government thought about the police atrocities on October 26th before the Bombay Municipal Corporation discussed that subject and arrived at a decision, will hardly be considered satisfactory. While the people believe that the police exercised terrible atrocities on the 26th October, we are extremely surprised to hear that His Excellency the Governor says that the force used by the police was the minimum and we cannot resist the temptation of wishing to be told what sort of a thing the exercise of the maximum force on the part of police would be. If after the statement issued by medical men and the description of persons who personally witnessed the beating by the police, His Excellency the Governor says that the minimum force was used, what more can we say than this that the officers have been taking advantage of his goodness? The public have come to know as to how low and meaningless has been the defence of the treatment meted out to women. The public are very much surprised to learn that Sir Frederick Sykes does not consider it any way inhuman to leave young women and girls of tender years alone and unprotected on a lonely road. His Excellency the Governor declares that the methods adopted by the Bombay police are less severe than those adopted towards women in other countries when they violate the laws. But we are afraid that if the inhuman conduct which the Bombay Police have exhibited towards women were adopted in any other country and if the Government then defended it, people would surely overthrow that Government within a moment. The demand which the Bombay Municipal Corporation has made for an inquiry into the conduct of the police and the punishment of those who may be found guilty is quite in consonance with public feeling and opinion. The police had furnished a further proof on the night of the 5th of November, the Gandhi day, as to how unrestrained they are becoming day by day through taking advantage of His Excellency the Governor's goodness, of the sympathy and tolerance of Government. We still hope that the Police, Government and His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes will realise as soon as possible that this state of affairs is undesirable in the interests of the future relations between the Government and the people.....

Nava Kal, 8th November 1930.

The *Nava Kal* refers to His Excellency the Governor's reply to Mr. Husainbhai Lalji in connection with the treatment given to women by the police on the flag salutation day and writes—His Excellency's reply shows how indifferent the high officials of the provincial Governments are to the feelings of the public. The explanation given by His Excellency about the desertion of certain women volunteers in a jungle is as irritating as that given by the Director of Information. It will not satisfy the public but will on the contrary encourage them to try to effect as speedily as possible a radical change in that administration wherein every official is indifferent to public opinion. It appears from His Excellency's letter that the officials do not feel any remorse for the conduct of the Police but are on the contrary proud of it and that they are disposed to give an assurance that such a thing will not recur simply because there is a loud outcry against it. Already the humiliation to which the Police subjected the citizens of Bombay in defiance of law and sense of humanity is beyond endurance and to add to it the Governor has written this provokingly insulting letter.

Comments on the sentence passed on the Dictator of the Poona City Congress Committee.

Dnyan Prakash, 5th November 1930.

The *Dnyan Prakash* refers to the sentence passed on Kashinathbuwa Pashankar on the charge of being the Dictator of the Poona City Congress Committee and writes—lawyers and judges should consider whether sentences passed on such a charge are lawful and just. It is necessary to ascertain from the view-point of justice whether there is any provision for the appointment of a dictator in the constitution of the Congress Committees, whether a person nominated by a president of committee declared unlawful after he is sentenced becomes a *bona-fide* office-bearer of an unlawful association and whether even the ordinary behaviour of such a dictator can be considered to be objectionable and unlawful. The satyagrahis will naturally remain indifferent in such matters. But we think that the Magistrate should conduct such cases more carefully and subject the evidence brought forth by the Government to a testing examination. More than two months have elapsed since Mr. Pashankar was appointed dictator. If the Government thought it necessary to prosecute him only because he was a member of an unlawful association, he ought to have been prosecuted earlier. If the Government contends that he was guilty of objectionable and unlawful conduct in the capacity of dictator evidence to that effect ought to have been produced before the court. But no such thing was done during the course of the prosecution of Mr. Pashankar. We therefore think that it is necessary to send a petition for revision of the decision given by Mr. Israel. Taking the whole situation in Poona into account any one will conclude that there was no necessity to prosecute Mr. Pashankar and that the sentence passed on him was unjust.

For the Week ending 15 November 1930

Civil Disobedience Movement and Parallel Government

Mahratta, 9th Nov. 1930

It is now seven or eight months since the Civil Disobedience Movement was launched and has been proceeding on a scale that has staggered the world and in manner that is as unique as it is effective. The people of India have exhibited, without the shadow of adoubt, wonderful courage, spirit of unprecedented sacrifice and readiness to suffer hardships even of the most brutal nature. And the Government, on its part, has revealed itself in its true colours during that period. Indians are well acquainted with all the heinous doings of the Government for crushing the movement and it is absolutely unnecessary to recapitulate the dark history here. There is no limit where the Government stops. Nothing is sacred : neither private property nor individual life. Even the fair sex is treated in a wild way, hardly becoming a modern Government. What the Government is doing with the agriculturist class in Gujarat, with its belongings, with its crops and its fields and cattle, is too dismal and harrowing to be adequately described. Of treatment given to satyagrahi prisoners the less said the better. Prisoners hailing from the villages and enlightened Graduates of Universities are kicked and beaten and, what is most astounding and offensive, are yoked like bulls to carts heavily laden with luggage in. In brief, the youth, the manhood and the womanhood of India too, is sought to be broken in spirit and none can at present imagine to what length the Government will go in future to extirpate the movement. if not the frightfully assertive feeling of nationalism and patriotism itself.....It may be posited that in Ireland and other nations that secured their liberty in the past, side by side with other comparatively more destructive forms of political agitation, the constructive conception of parallel government was constantly kept up before the eye of the nationals of every country and its institutions were being silently built up brick by brick and stone by stone, with the effect that in Ireland the ruling power paled into abject insignificance before the parallel Government institutions developed by the people of that wonderful small nation. The idea of parallel Government has, indeed, been engaging the public mind of India since long, but for some reason or other it did not materialise to any appreciable extent. That there are grave differences of opinion on the subject may easily be conceived. Yet we are inclined to think that though it may not be practicable to execute the idea in its integral features all at once, it may not, in the least, be found difficult to take up one item in it, say of National Arbitration Boards, and try to set them up in various centres with a view to giving a local habitation and a name to the spirit of patriotism that can be preserved and made to function through such bodies, both in rural and urban areas. This question of Arbitration Hoards has two aspects, political and economic. And even those who have no other motive than that of saving poor people's money for themselves from the insatiable maw of the Law Courts, may, without fear, lend their co-operation in the development of these

institutions. How effective politically the establishment of parallel Government is, was indicated by the wrathful outburst of the *Daily Herald* too when Mr. K. F. Nariman, after his release and before his rearrest, broached the subject of National Arbitration Boards for the formulation of plans in that behalf. The work of construction of parallel Government, we know, can proceed only by degrees. Nonetheless, we think that a time has come in the prosecution of the movement for India's freedom when a beginning in that direction should be made. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the successor of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the Congress Presidentship, has recently come out of jail and he might consider the possibilities of giving a new orientation, on these lines, to the movement. We hope the leaders of the Congress and even other parties participating in the struggle for freedom in general, will adopt the above suggestion and devise means to put it into practice "

For the Week ending 15 November 1930

Comments on the circular letter of the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to Bombay newspapers regarding Civil Disobedience.

Kesari, 11th Nov.

A novel idea has emanated from the fertile brain of the new Commissioner of Police and he has revived the Press Act which has not lapsed in a different form. (The paper then refers to the warning issued by the Commissioner of Police against publishing news, etc ; about the activities of bodies declared to be unlawful.) The Press Ordinance while it was in operation could not successfully gag the press but the Commissioner of Police aims to achieve that result by his present order. But what does he hope to gain by issuing such an impossible order? Does he hope to get the credit of stopping the activities of the Congress, the Youth Leagues, etc. by muzzling the press, a result which he could not obtain by his lathi-charges? But this is a vain hope. It is unwise to try to create a belief that the movement has died out by suppressing all news about it. Perhaps the object of the Commissioner is to screen the misdeeds of the Police. Probably he believes that if the papers are silent about the activities of the civil resisters, they will at the same time refrain from making any mention of the lathi-charges by the police on them. But this-- will spread greater misunderstanding about the Police. In short, the authorities cannot hope to kill such movements by gagging the press instead of improving their conduct in keeping with justice.

Bombay Samachar; 10th Nov.

The *Bombay Samachar* refers to the circular issued by Mr. Wilson, the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to the editors of newspapers in Bombay and remarks—It does not appear clearly from Mr. Wilson's letter to the newspapers whether he has of his own accord ventured upon the risky talk of intermeddling in the work of the newspapers only under the exercise of the powers vested in him as a Police Commissioner or whether he has invited this further discredit upon himself only by way of executing the

orders of the higher authorities. In any case, looking to the way in which this bombshell of his has been thrown amongst the public it cannot be considered to be an injustice to him if the inference is drawn that he wants to take into his hands the reins of Bombay and its newspapers by selling aside the Governor and his council. If this is not a tenth ordinance following close upon the heels of the ninth ordinance, still in the eyes of the press and the people, it will certainly appear as filling the place of a tenth ordinance. We hope that just as a spirit of moderation was exercised in Bombay out of regard for the strong protest raised against the black Ordinance relating to newspapers in spite of its having been issued, so also by keeping their head cool, the Government of Bombay will consider it advisable to have such a change introduced in the new policy as would provide facilities to the independent nationalist press to discharge its duty fearlessly. What other purpose can these new orders serve except imparting more strength and impetus to those who have come to the decision of not withdrawing from the final struggle without fighting it out to the finish '?

For the Week ending 22 November 1930

Appeal to Government to inquire into the affairs at Sholapur and other places.

Vijayi Maratha, 17th Nov.

Commenting on the Government's attitude in regard to the inquiry into the martial law regime at Sholapur and other episodes of a like nature, the *Vijayi Maratha* writes : A resolution had been moved in the last session of the Legislative Council about making an inquiry into the Sholapur affair but the Government did not allow it to be passed. And if the committee appointed by the Congress had proceeded with the inquiry, the Government would have prohibited it just as in the case of the Ranpur Inquiry Committee. The report on the situation at Kudchi published by the Hindu Sabha has also been confiscated. Again, the Chirner Committee has been forbidden to carry on its work on the spot and it is to be seen if its report too will be forfeited. It will also be seen before long what attitude the Government takes up in regard to the Inquiry Committee appointed in connection with the riot at Bilashi But it is extremely deplorable that the Government itself is defeating the purpose of justice by this sort of repression.

For the Week ending 29 November 1930

Comments on the refusal of the Privy Council to admit the appeal in the Sholapur case.

Hindustan and Praja Mitra, 28th Nov. Sanj Vartaman, 28th Nov.

The *Hindustan* and *Praja Mitra* refers to the refusal by the Privy Council to admit the appeal in the Sholapur case and remarks : It has not been definitely stated whether the Privy Council refused to admit the appeal after examining all the causes relating to the petition in the Sholapur appeal case or for the sake of observing the practice of not admitting criminal appeals. There is no doubt that the sympathy of the people of the

whole Presidency is with the accused. The hearts of all persons have been agitated by the suicidal decision of the Privy Council. However if His Excellency the Governor finds a way out of the impasse the people will feel thankful to him. The *Sanj Vartaman* remarks : The information about the result of the case in the Privy Council will be considered only disappointing by the people of this country and we hope that His Excellency the Governor will use his prerogative of showing mercy to the guilty persons, save them from capital punishment and grant them life.

Mahratta, 30th Nov.

" Anxious eyes were fixed on the decision of the appeal lodged with the Privy Council by Mallappa Dhanshetti and three others of Sholapur sentenced to be hanged in the Police Murder Case. The Privy Council sees no reason to alter the decision of the Bombay High Court. This decision, we have no doubt, will rend the heart of Maharashtra in twain, in profound sorrow and in unmitigated anger at the most heinous injustice which can masquerade as justice in this world. Only last week we wrote about the injustice done to Mr. K. G. Ranade whose son fell a victim to a shot at Sholapur. But that injustice is nothing when compared with the piece of injustice done to these four prodigiously unfortunate convicted persons. In the first place, it is absolutely incomprehensible how these four persons of high social status could be-all connected with the brutal murders of policemen, when the fact of some of them having saved the panick-stricken District Magistrate himself from the fury of the mob had been proved. The judge who conceived the possibility of these persons being murderers must indeed be in possession of some non-human powers of imagination. But the judge who could conceive a medical practitioner like Mr. Antrolikar and a pleader like Mr. Mahajan to have conspired for burning the Court buildings could not find it difficult to conclude the four leading persons of Sholapur to have been murderers. Apart from this point, many others too have to be properly taken into account. The Bombay High Court differed at least in the case of three of the accused and then in the reference of their appeal to another High Court Judge, the three had their death sentences confirmed. Now the Privy Council too has refused the appeal of the accused and justice has run its full course Before this we have many a time appealed to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to exercise the privilege of mercy in favour of the convicted. We had then drawn His Excellency's earnest attention to the case of Kabulkhan of the Patwardhan murder fame, in which, in spite of unchallenged and absolutely undoubted evidence before the Court and in spite of the sentence of death passed on him His Excellency thought fit to exercise his privilege of mercy. If it was fit to grant mercy in that case, it is far and away the fittest act to do in the present Sholapur case. Already Sholapur has become a byword to civilised savagery practised by the Government, its police and its military. And if now the four persons are hanged, it will be permanently impossible for Maharashtra to forget the excruciating memory of the dark deeds devilishly done by the Government at Sholapur."

Nava Kal, 28th Nov.

The *Nava Kal* refers to the rejection of the appeal made by Mallappa Dhanshetti and others condemned to death in the Sholapur riot case and writes :—Such cases are occurring practically every day and everywhere with this difference only that in this particular case the punishments appear to be far more terrible than in others. The object of meting out such severe sentences in this case is not to deter people from terrible crimes like murder but to crush their political aspirations. The ruling powers resort to repression in order to produce this sort of effect on the people. Repression seeks to create this feeling in the minds of people that as the rulers can attribute any motive to the most cautious action it is better to stand aloof from all political agitation. We are led to draw, this moral because serious flaws in the evidence came to light in this case with the result that there was a difference of opinion among the High Court Judges themselves. The Government will of course get the accused hanged and the matter as it is not responsible to public opinion, but it rests with the people to show whether the sacrifice of the accused proved fruitful or otherwise. And hence, though Mallappa and others have been compelled to depart from the world because of their being accidentally involved in the riot, the national service which brought them to the forefront ought not to suffer a break.

For the Week ending 13 December 1930

Comments on the punitive police imposed on Shiroda and Redi (District Ratnagiri).

Balvant, 10th Dec.

Referring to the alleged repression in Shiroda, the *Balvant* remarks :—But on reviewing the circumstances there it is doubtful how far the plethora of sentences can prove successful. The Government also seem to entertain the same doubt, for otherwise the new move of imposing a punitive police cannot be explained. Even women and children having lost all fear of the prisons, the Government seem to have adopted this strategic measure with an idea that people would be cowed down under the new taxation for the punitive police. The annual expenditure of this additional force will be about Rs. 11.500 and that is to be recovered from the residents of Shiroda and Redi, so that this *Jiziya* is to be levied at the rate of rupees two per head. Does the Government expect to recover this heavy tax in the circumstances prevailing in the Ratnagiri District ?

Comments on the alleged lathi-charges by the Police in Bombay on the Gandhi Day.

Bombay Samachar (Weekly), 7th Dec.

Commenting upon the alleged lathi-charges made by the Police on the people in Bombay on the 5th December 1930, the *Bombay Samachar* remarks: Cannot the guardians of law and order offer a more decent and better oblation than broken heads to the prophet of peace '? Even if Government have declared the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to be unlawful, still the Congressmen are not enemies but

subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor, and even if they are committing a breach of the law, still they deserve to be protected under them. The police are bound to safe-guard this constitutional right of the people, but it is really deplorable that, instead of doing so they have taken the law in their hands. If the guardians of law and order do not wish to put the patience of the people to terrible test, then they ought to refrain from such misbehaviour. The bureaucracy of no country in the world has ever reaped good fruits by trifling with the feelings of the people. The blind worshippers of law and order should bear it in mind that the lathi is the shortest cut for forcibly dragging non-violent India on to the path of violence. This step of leading knowingly or unknowingly such non-violent people on to the path of violence by inflicting beatings on them will prove fatal for both India and Britain.

For the Week ending 20 December 1930

Comments on the death of Babu Genu, a Congress Volunteer, in Bomhay.

Hindustan and Praja Mitra, 13th Dec, Bombay Samachar, 15th Dec..

Sanj Vartaman, 15th Dec.

The *Hindustan* and *Praja Mitra* referred to the death of Babu Genu, a Congress volunteer, on 12th December 1930 which occurred as a result of his having been run over by a motor lorry and remarks : Who can today solve the riddle whether this martyr would have proved to be of greater use to the country by remaining alive or whether he has rendered greater service to his country by voluntarily inviting death '? In any case it is certain that by sacrificing his life, Babu has stirred the hearts of the entire people and the worshippers of British cloth have certainly become ashamed as a result of the offering of his life. The Government Publicity Department has at once come forward to furnish an explanation in regard to this incident and the Director of Information states that the death of Babu Genu was accidental and that the Sergeant or the chauffeur had not intentionally driven the motor lorry over him but as a result of this explanation the grandeur of the sacrifice offered by Babu (Genu) does not become lessened in the slightest degree. The *Bombay Samachar* remarks : The great sacrifices which people have offered up in all parts of the country since the time that the Saint of Sabarmati began his memorable march will be recorded in golden letters in the history of India : but the sacrifice which the young man named Babu Genu has offered up on last Friday is really extraordinary. Babu Genu has left behind him a memorial pillar on Friday on the high road of Kalbadevi. This inscription on that pillar tells the people that if there is the stigma of foreign cloth still on their bodies, they should now cast off such clothes from their bodies and wipe it out for ever. That inscription that the merchants not to cast even a glance now on bales of foreign cloth, and to set fire to this foreign cloth with their own hands and do penance for the sin

committed by them up to now. Only a few days ago a Magistrate had indulged in very cruel criticism as to whether the volunteers who lie down in front of motor lorries would dare to do so if the lorries were passed over their bodies. The *Sanj Vartaman* remarks that the press note issued by the Director of Information, explaining the distressing heart-rending and unfortunate circumstances under which the death of Babu Genu occurred will be considered to be quite incomplete, and that it will not win the confidence of the people because the people will naturally form their own opinion in this connection only after the Coroner's inquest has been held. The paper further makes an earnest appeal to all the people of India and to the citizens of Bombay that if they desire to see the soul of Babu Genu enjoying everlasting peace, then they must take a solemn vow about boycotting foreign cloth and using only .Swadeshi cloth.

Appeal for mercy to the Sholapur Police Murder case convicts.

Bombay Chronicle, 15th Dec.

" We published the other day the text of a telegram sent by Mr. Hussainbhoy Lalji on behalf of the Indian Merchants Chamber appealing to the Viceroy to exercise his prerogative of mercy in the case of the four Sholapur convicts and commute their sentence of death. We also published yesterday the appeal of the Sholapur Municipality and the telegrams sent by Lady Laxmibai Jagmohandas to the Viceroy and to Lady Irwin in this behalf. We also understand that similar appeals have been addressed by the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce and several Women's Associations in Bombay. It is evident from this that public opinion is strongly in favour of the humanitarian appeal for commuting the death sentence on the convicts, who are very prominent members of the mercantile community. It could not be otherwise. It will be recalled that when the case came in appeal before the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Madgaonkar of the Bombay High Court there arose a difference of opinion between their Lordships regarding the guilt of three of the accused. Thereupon the case was referred to a third judge, the Honourable Mr. Justice Baker. Mr. Justice Baker, although he reached the same conclusion as that of the Honourable the Chief Justice, did so on essentially different grounds. Add to it the fact that the situation at Sholapur. when their case was tried there, was peculiar and could not but handicap them in their defence. The case of these unfortunate men becomes one of the most deserving subjects for the exercise of the Viceroy's prerogative. Principles of modern penology also point in the direction of clemency. Britain herself is reconsidering her attitude towards capital punishment. Only the other day a select committee of the Commons reported in favour of legislation at least to suspend capital punishment for five years as an experiment. In view of these considerations and in view of the special circumstances of the case we trust that Lord Irwin will not fail to consider representations on behalf of the condemned men favourably. We are glad to learn that Lady Laxmibai has received acknowledgment of her telegram assuring her that it is receiving consideration. We understand that Mr. Narayanrao Gunjal and other M. L. A.s intend to wait upon His Excellency in this connection. We earnestly pray for the successful outcome of their human mission. "

For the Week ending 27 December 1930

Comments on the levy of punitive tax on the citizens of Sholapur.

Karma Vir, 19th Dec.

Referring to the punitive tax, imposed on the Sholapur city, the *Karma Vir* writes— Government have decided to impose upon the citizens of Sholapur the amount of Rs. 90,000 for making good the loss suffered by them during the recent Sholapur disturbances. We have shown in the past how the muddle-headed authorities were mainly responsible for the sufferings of Sholapur. If the Collector had not gone along with the lathi police to arrest the youths cutting the toddy trees, the Police would not have been stoned, and there would have been no possibility of the Police being killed. Subsequent evils could also have been averted. This tax should, therefore, have been imposed on those authorities who were responsible for all these troubles. In the alternative, a committee of inquiry should have been appointed and compensation recovered in accordance with its findings. But how can this just method be acceptable to those who care nothing for public opinion'?

PART-VI

FROM CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE TO END OF INDIVIDUAL SATYAGRAHA

Part VI

From Civil Disobedience to End of Individual Satyagraha

Civil Disobedience did not succeed in obtaining Purna Swaraj, but it did bring Provincial Autonomy in place of Dyarchy. Great Britain was compelled to give an instalment of constitutional reforms through the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1935 by the British Parliament. The Congress rejected the provisions of the Act in so far as they related to the federal structure of Government at the Centre. However it decided to develop internal strength by working in the legislatures. Its policy was to repudiate the provisions relating to the federal arrangements and to resist British Imperialism. The Congress stood by the resolutions of the Lahore Congress and the Karachi Congress. The most important resolutions of the Faizpur Congress related to the elections and the Constituent Assembly, a convention of the elected members of the legislatures, non-participation in the coronation and other imperialist functions. Meanwhile the Election Manifesto was duly endorsed. The Congress permitted Congressmen to accept office in the provinces where they were in a majority. Accordingly B. G. Kher and Ravi Shankar Shukla were elected as Prime Ministers of the Bombay Presidency and the C P. and Berar, respectively. Both the Ministries had to their credit many useful and constructive measures of educational, social and economic reforms. After the outbreak of Second World War on 1 Sept. 1939, the Ministries relinquished office in November 1939.

Meanwhile the demand for Pakistan became stronger after resignation by the Congress Ministries.

The demon of World War was spreading its tentacles far and wide, which instead of softening the heart of Great Britain towards India, hardened it evermore. Gandhiji, therefore, announced his programme of Individual Satyagraha on the question of Freedom to preach non-cooperation with the Government in its war effort and to make anti-war speeches. Gandhiji chose Vinoba Bhave as the first satyagrahi to be followed by Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Azad, Rajendra Prasad, etc. In the beginning Gandhiji himself chose the satyagrahis on individual merit. Eventually, however, hundreds of men and women courted arrest as satyagrahis, many of them more than once.

Editor

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Provincial Autonomy and Rejection of 1935 Reforms

(Intercepted letter of S. Satyamurti to Sardar Patel, 21 May 1935).

[Home Poll. (I) File No. 32/3/35, 1935.]

My dear Sardarji,

I see you have said in the course of a statement that rejection of the Reforms cannot, in any case, mean acceptance of ministership under the Constitution. I presume the report is correct. On that presumption, I desire to write to you on a few aspects of the question which I beg of you to consider deeply. Technically speaking, rejection may not mean acceptance of ministerships. But substantially speaking, I contend that the real question as to our attitude towards the Reforms should be decided on considerations which will effectuate our rejection. I am not speaking for all provinces, but speaking of the province of Madras, I can honestly say that the most effective way of rejecting the constitution will be for the Congress party to capture the majority of the seats in the Legislative Council and then to accept ministerships and carry on the fight for Swaraj. In any case, I venture to suggest that the present policy of the Congress—that is, capture of legislatures by Congressmen,—clearly includes capture of all positions in the legislature. It is for those who say that we must not accept ministerships to show that thereby the struggle for Swaraj will be intensified. There is also a danger I should like to guard against—namely, that those who advocate acceptance of office do so from unworthy or personal motives. I am sure you do not chase that view. To Congressmen, acceptance of office cannot mean much personal advantage. Thanks to the Karachi resolution fixing maximum salaries and the need, and almost inevitably of Congress ministers coming into conflict with the Governor, it is not the desire for emoluments of office but honest conviction that thereby we can advance the struggle for Swaraj which is the powerful motive. Conversely I should like you to consider very deeply the consequences of non-Congressmen being allowed to accept office. We shall have repeated all the happenings during the last few years when the legislatures were in the hands of communalists and reactionaries. I am, therefore, anxious that you should consider all these aspects, and at least, keep an open mind on the matter till we may discuss the whole constitution. I expect we shall do so shortly. In the meantime, I shall be glad to hear from you.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
S. Satyamurti.

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Vallabhbhai Patel's Speech on occasion of Golden Jubilee Celebration of the Congress in Bombay

(Summary in Bombay Chronicle, 31st December 1935)

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the course of his Gujarati speech said that it was necessary for the people to understand the secret of the Congress Jubilee celebration. For the last fifty years the Congress had been serving the nation and its cause of Indian Freedom. Many had laid down their lives in the course of their service, while others had lost their all. Many of them had been reduced to abject poverty. Many such people who had sacrificed, died and laid down their all at the call of the Congress were unknown. People were not aware that such individuals did exist. Yet it was a fact. It was for those thousands and thousands of unknown Congress workers that the Congress Jubilee was being celebrated in every nook and corner of the country. It was due to their work that the Congress had to-day captured the hearts of the people. It was that, that was responsible for the conviction among the people that if there was any organisation in the country that would remove slavery from India it was the Indian National Congress.

A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT .— Referring to what the conditions were fifty years ago, and what it had developed into today, the Sardar said that the education imparted to the school-going children fifty years ago was such that they were asked to repeat poems which praised God for having sent the Britishers to rule over India. But to-day people had realised that India was their country and the foreigner had no right to rule over India. That in itself was a very great achievement. If everyone of the 35 crores of Indians realised that the Britisher had no right to rule over him, then the Britisher would not remain in India as a ruler a minute longer.

NO CAUSE FOR DESPAIR.—Continuing the Sardar said that he was really pained whenever he heard people becoming helpless and losing hope. It had been said that since the Government of India Act, (1935) had been passed, there was no other go but to work it. Why should it be worked ? Just because some Act has been passed it did not mean that there was no other go for Indians but to work it ? As Lokamanya Tilak said Swaraj was every Indian's birthright and he would have it. It was essential that one should work and strive for it instead of despairing because certain Act had been passed by Parliament. Nothing could be achieved if it was not worked and fought for. The power to tear the New Constitution to pieces was in the hands of Indians. There had been talk of unity among all the parties in India. The Sardar was for such a unity. The doors of the Congress had always been open for everyone. No one were denied the right of entering that great body. But Congress would not consent to give up its goal of Complete Independence nor would it accede to the demand that it should do away with its weapon. The Sardar wanted to know that one could do without a weapon ? Should one beat his chest with both hands and demand Swaraj and who would reply to your demand ?

CONGRESS IS ALIVE.—Mr. Nagindas Master addressing the gathering said that the people who had just listened to the spirited speech of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, would have to strive and sacrifice if Indian Independence was to be achieved. It was only when Swaraj was won that it could be said that the work of the Congress and the people had been done. Referring to those who said that the Congress was today a dead force, Mr. Master said that it was not so. The enthusiasm shown by the people during the last Assembly elections and its results : the grand success of the Presidential tour all over the country and the jubilation of the people all over the country, in every Indian home during the Golden Jubilee celebrations were proof enough that Congress was still a live wire and an organisation to be reckoned with.

COMING OF THE MAHATMA.—Mr. Yusuf Meherally said during the last 25 years there had been a great awakening in the country and, thanks to the advent of Mahatma Gandhi into Indian Politics 20 years ago, there had been a lightening change.

Mrs. Lilavati Munshi thanked all those who helped to make the Congress Golden Jubilee celebrations in the Ward a grand success. There was no doubt at all that the Jubilee had created a lot of enthusiasm among the people and should have convinced the critics that Congress still was the powerful organisation that it was, nay it was stronger. She thanked the Jain Volunteer Corps for its services through volunteers and band and the Bombay National Guards and others.

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All-India Kisan Committee's Manifesto On Kisan Movement

(Issued at Bombay on 21st August 1936)

[Home Poll (I) File No. 12/3/36 of 1936]

The object of the Kisan movement is to secure complete freedom from economic exploitation and the achievement of full economic and political power for the peasants and workers and all other exploited classes.

The main task of the Kisan Movement shall be the organisation of peasants to fight for their immediate political and economic demands in order to prepare them for their emancipation from every form of exploitation.

The Kisan Movement stands for the achievement of ultimate economic and political power for the producing masses through its active participation in the national struggle for winning complete independence.

The one outstanding fact of Indian economic life is the grinding poverty and utter misery of the vast peasant masses which comprise 80% of its population. No political or economic programme which has the audacity to ignore their needs and demands can by any stretch of imagination be labelled a national programme. Every organisation claiming to represent the people of India must place the interests of the bankrupt and much exploited ryots, tenants and agricultural labour in the forefront of its programme if it is to vindicate its claim.

Inasmuch as the Indian National Congress is today the only effective political body with a country wide organisation claiming to champion the cause of the masses, it must necessarily make the solution of the problems of the peasantry the chief plank of its political and economic policy.

The terrible condition of the Indian peasants is too well known to need repetition. The tenants are oppressed by Zamindars, Talukdars and Malguzars, Inamdars and other landlords. The peasant proprietors have to bear the yoke of an oppressive system of Land Revenue. The agricultural labour receive, if at all, starvation wages and work and live in conditions bordering on slavery.

But unfortunately while the condition of the peasantry dominates the whole political and economic life of the country, the peasants themselves have been most backward politically and organisationally. The results are two-fold, firstly, the peasants have been deprived of all the ameliorative legislation, that could have been passed during the last 16 years, even by the present legislatures, if the legislators had felt obliged to satisfy the peasants, and secondly, the political movement itself in the country has remained more or less unconcerned with both the immediate and basic problems of the peasantry. The fundamental cause that makes for their present starvation is the land tenure and revenue and credit system which is nothing else but a device perfected by British Imperialism to wring out of the peasants the utmost that can be got out of them without actually killing them.

It is this that must be immediately abolished before any other constructive measures aiming at the welfare of the peasantry can be undertaken. Our objectives may not be possible of realisation under the present system of Government. Yet the peasants, if they are to save themselves from utter ruin, must fight for and secure them. The system of Government must go if it stands in the way as it undoubtedly does. This is how the struggle of the peasantry merges into the fight for Swaraj. It is for this reason that the Kisan Sabha has declared its resolve for complete independence. In this manner do the Kisan and political movements become interdependent, the strength of the one adding to that of the other.

Under these circumstances it is essential that a political movement must be so developed in our country as to draw its main strength and inspiration from the peasantry, It must also strive for the removal of all those obstacles that stand in the way of a true and lasting solution conducive to fullest well being of the agricultural masses of the country. The peasants' fight for bread and land is linked up with the national fight for political freedom.

The Kisan Sabha means the unity of the peasants. All our peasants must combine to fight the forces that are ruthlessly driving them deeper and deeper into misery and poverty. By organising the peasants, by setting them on their feet, the Kisan movement not only enables them to put a stop to the thousands and one harassment and extortionate practices of the landlords and land-revenue officers and Sowcars and their agents, but also advances them greatly towards the goal of political freedom thereby strengthening, as nothing else can, the movement for national independence.

Fortunately the Kisan all over the country are becoming more and more conscious politically and economically of their basic problems. The All-India Kisan Committee is an expression of this awakening among the peasantry. They have at last realised that they must fashion out their own militant class organisation if they are to make any sustained advance towards their goal. The Kisan Sabha represent not only the ryot, the tenants and the landless labourers, but in some places the petty Zamindars. In other words it represents and speaks and fights for all those who live by the cultivation of the soil, All these different stratas among the Kisans will have to combine and fight for the removal of all the fellers imposed by British Imperialism and its allies the Sowcars and landlords. In short they must fight for complete National, socio-economic Independence. India, a Dependency of Britain must be transformed into free, progressive and democratic India of the masses, The fight for such an India can only effectively be conducted on a programme based on the grievances and demands of the Kisan of India.

While the fight for those basic changes goes on, the peasants must also fight for all that can be gained within the framework of the existing economic order. Only in this manner can they prepare themselves for the bigger fight, the objective of which must be kept ever present in the minds of the Kisans.

To this end, we frame the charter of minimum demands of our Kisans, the Provincial Kisan Sabhas having the right to supplement it by a list of their local needs.

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Sardar Patel on Muslim League's Claim

(Times of India, 27th Oct, 1939) (Speech in Bombay)

" It is necessary that there should be such a party meeting in Christmas when we can discuss the situation in the country, our difficulties and our future work. We should meet, if necessary, every month, No one should go away with the idea that in the coming months we would be doing nothing, while the British Government would be allowed to carry on the Administration as they like. In the very nature of things, British Imperialism cannot last long, and the burden of administering our own country must fall on our own shoulders whether we are ready or not. "

" As you know, the Muslim League recently celebrated what it called its ' Day of Deliverance', as if the Congress Ministeries had been driven out of office. It was inspired by a fear as to what would happen to it if the Congress made a settlement with the British Government. But it forgot that the Congress had not been driven out of office ; it had retired voluntarily. It was open to us ever on the so-called ' Day of Deliverance' to return to office, had we so chosen. It is no use praying to God for the resignation of the Ministeries; the credit, if any, is due to the Congress itself. We had given a pledge to our own electorates not to stick to office, if by so doing the interests of the country would suffer. Then a time came when the Congress felt that it could not continue in office any longer without detriment to the cause for which it existed ; and you may rest assured that the Congress is not going back to office until it can wield the real power of governance in a free India."

" When the war started, Mr. Gandhi declared his sympathy with Britain. Pledged as we were to freedom, we could not have any sympathy for Nazism. Mr. Gandhi, however, made it clear that the Congress did not agree with him on this question. It is natural that the Congress should ask the British Government whether they were prepared to declare that India would be free at the end of the war. The demand was natural and proper. The reply was that we were not united, that the minorities need to be protected and that the Princes had to be placated. How can we continue in office with such an attitude on the part of the British Government ? "

" So long as we have a third party in our midst, there cannot be a compromise between the minorities and the Congress. We have had ample experience in the past. We cannot forget how Sir Samuel Hoare set the Muslims against the Hindus when the Unity Conference was held at Allahabad. British statesmen, in order to win the sympathy of the world, now go on repeating that they are willing to give freedom to India, were India united. The ' Day of Deliverance ' was evidently calculated to make the world, and particularly the British public, believe that India was not united, and that the Muslims and the Hindus were against one another. But when several sections of Muslims were found to oppose the ' Day of Deliverance ', the proposed anti-Hindu demonstrations were converted into a Jinnah-Ambedkar-Byramji protest against the Congress Ministeries and the Congress High Command."

" Some people frighten us with the bogey of a civil war. We cannot sacrifice our principles for such empty apprehensions. If there are any who deem it fit to encourage violence, pledged as we are to non-violence, we shall have to go through the ordeal. We cannot forsake our principles. We must strive our utmost to create an atmosphere of non-violence in the country. "

" It is difficult to understand the position of the League. What does it want ? The Congress has made friendly approaches repeatedly, but every time it has met with a rebuff. The Congress even over-ruled its revered leader, Pandit Malaviya, and did not reject the Communal Award. The League goes on rejecting whatever is offered, without formulating its own demands. The Anglo-Indian papers which for the moment appear to represent the League's point of view urge coalition Ministries. The League has not made it clear whether it wants them and on what terms."

" Congressmen are anxious to make friends, but with whom ? That is the question. There cannot be friendship unless there is a willing mind on both sides. Mr. Jinnah charges the Congress with atrocities. He never could specify the charges. Now the Governors and the Viceroy have kept their mouth sealed lest they should displease the League by speaking the truth. "

" The condition precedent to any negotiations, which Mr. Jinnah makes is that the Congress should accept the League as the sole representative of the Muslims in India. If the Congress accepted that position it would have to throw the Pathans of the North overboard; to jettison the Shias, who are no less than three out of the eight crores of Muslims in India : and to betray Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other Congress Muslims, who have contributed to the creation of the National Congress of today."

"To concede the claim of Mr. Jinnah, which Sir Sikander Hyat Khan has repeated today, is for the Congress to commit suicide in the hope of being reborn a Hindu organisation. Should we tell the Maulanas and the leaders of the Zamiet-ul-Ulema that they should leave the national organisation and submit to the communal leaders of Mr. Jinnah, because the British Government desire that he should be placated before the Congress gets a declaration of war aims ? The British Government will be disappointed. Let them continue the rule with their Advisers as long as they can. Even if we are a handful, we will not allow the Congress to commit political *hara-kiri*, as Mr. Jinnah wants it to do. "

MR. GANDHI'S LEADERSHIP.—" If the resignation of the Ministers has brought real deliverance, it is to the Ministers who had their daily worries. Our internal differences have disappeared. The Congress has again accepted the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, the only man who can lead us to victory. If there are any among Congressmen who are impatient about his methods, they are welcome to try their own experiments. But they will fail; success will depend only upon loyalty following the lead of Mr. Gandhi. "

" Our Congress elections will soon be on. They must be conducted with least friction. If we are out for a big struggle we cannot waste our energies in small internal squabbles. Our programme of the future is contained in the resolution recently passed by the working committee. It has reiterated the cult of the spinning wheel, which is dear to Mr. Gandhi. Behind the spinning wheel is the whole philosophy of Satyagraha. If any of you disapprove of that cult you should remain silent. When the struggle is on, the voice of the critic should be hushed. It is for the General to decide with what weapon he will fight."

" The pledge which we are to adopt on the next ' Independence Day ' has new features. It is intended to prepare the country for the coming struggle. January 26 is intended to create the necessary atmosphere. Do not forget the lessons of August 1 last. The anti-prohibitionists frightened us with all kinds of imaginary terrors. But on August 1 we proved that the people of Bombay were with us. In a similar way let January 26th be a day of our trial. We must prove our fitness to achieve our goal. No General could fight, even Mr. Chamberlain could not fight Germany, until the army is ready ".....

SECRET

D.O.No. 7/1/40-Political(I)
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT
Simla, 31 July 1940.

My dear Sladen,

I am desired to refer to the note on communist propaganda prepared by the Director, Intelligence Bureau, and enclosed with the Home Department letter No. 7/ 1/40-Political, dated 6th June 1940. This note refers to the existence in the suburbs of Bombay of a secret centre from which a steady flow of Communist literature is directed to other Provinces and which has so far remained undetected in spite of all the efforts of the police.

2. It has been suggested that it would be of material assistance in dealing with this matter if a conference were held in Bombay to be attended by the police officers primarily concerned with the detection of Communist activities in Provinces chiefly affected. Although it is realised that the Bombay police are at present actively engaged in tracking down this Communist nerve-centre and with this object are working in close co-operation with the police of other Provinces, it nevertheless appears certain that such a conference, would afford a valuable opportunity for a direct exchange of views and for pooling information.

3. I am to inquire whether the Government of Bombay are in favour of such a conference being held and if so, whether they have any suggestions to make in regard to its agenda or personnel.

Yours Sincerely

J. M. Sladen,
Home Secretary to the Government of
Bombay.

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Report of Police Conference on Anti-Communist Measures

Bombay, 11 12 Oct. 1940.

1. Exchange of information and the pooling of resources.—The conference, after brief preliminary discussion, agreed at the outset that the forces of communism in India constitute a practical as well as a theoretical danger to internal peace and security and that closer co-ordination in respect of countermeasures, accompanied by the pooling of police resources is necessary. It was agreed that in spite of the measures already taken a number of the main central and provincial communist leaders have been successful in evading arrest. These leaders are, recognisable as the organizers of an underground movement of all-India dimensions, but varying in intensity and extent from province to province.

The difficulty of obtaining inside information of this underground organization and of the leaders, whereabouts was generally admitted. It was felt that there was correspondingly little or no doubt as to the leaders' identity. The problem is thus that of locating the leaders and their secret centres and printing presses, and to improve intelligence concerning the underground (secret) side of communist activities generally. The Conference went on to consider measures for concerted action by C. I. Ds.

It was agreed that C. I. Ds. should list important central and provincial communists who are active within their jurisdiction and evading arrest under Defence Rule 26 or whose arrest is wanted under Defence Rule 129, together with detailed descriptive rolls, photographs, and samples of handwriting where available, and notes of inter-provincial connections. A consolidated list will be circulated by the intelligence Bureau to C. I. Ds. with a view to the arrest of all the individuals on the list, wherever found. (Payments offered for information leading to arrest will be included in the consolidated list.)

As soon as any listed communist is arrested, the C I.D. of the Home Province should be informed by wire of the fact and of any recoveries made, with a view to his immediate interrogation in police custody so that qualified C. I. D. Officers from the home province can take part. The Intelligence Bureau will arrange to keep provinces generally informed of arrests, and will issue a periodical intelligence summary of communist activity to assist C. I. Ds. in deciding on counter—measures with a view to greater uniformity than exists at present.

The Conference considered that the pooling of resources is especially necessary in order to locate and dislocate the all-India headquarters of the communist organisation, centred in or near Bombay. It was agreed that free interchange of qualified police officers accompanied by ' identifiers' and agents with access to Bombay communist circles should be encouraged, and co-operation on these lines will be welcomed by the Bombay authorities. In this connection it was pointed out that the employment of competent watchers at railway stations had succeeded in bringing about the arrest in the U. P. of two important leaders who had left Bombay recently on an inter-provincial tour. It was suggested that photographs of wanted leaders might be made available to the watcher staff at selected railway-stations, and could also be useful for identification purposes by agents.

The Conference agreed that interrogation under the provisions of Rule 116, Defence of India Act of known Communists, post-boxes, countries, student contacts *etc.*, immediately following their arrest, was important in relation to the collection of information regarding communist activities and the communist movement as a whole, but that such interrogation is unlikely to succeed unless in police custody and conducted by experienced C. I.D. Officers well-versed in the ' background ' of communist activity. For this purpose, temporary retention in police custody under Defence Rule 129 should be authorised where it is considered the individual has information to disclose, and interrogation, should not be hurried or interrupted by having to return deponents to judicial custody until interrogation is completed.

The Conference considered it important from the record point of view that photographs, together with fingerprints and specimens of normal handwriting, should be obtained under Defence Rule 27 in the case of all communists detained, or under the Prisoners' Act in convicted cases.

It was agreed that the policy of externment of known communists was mistaken, and that where restriction is necessary, provinces should normally apply for detention under Rule 26 in the province of arrest, or in the Home Province.

It was agreed that prosecution under Defence Rules 38 and 39 was preferable to charges under the ordinary law or the Press Act. both of which are inadequate to meet the early stages of communist conspiracy ; and that prosecution is a useful means of counter-propaganda by exposure of the communists' violent and unlawful intention to public gaze. Opinion was however divided as to the desirability of counter-propaganda and its probable effect on the public, and it was decided that this was a matter best left to be decided in the light of local circumstances.

2. Censorship of Communist Correspondence.—It was agreed that the active pursuit of postal censorship (both in-coming and out-going) forms an essential part of the anti-communist campaign, and is the best means of obtaining reliable intelligence of the communists' plans and intentions in the absence of source information.

In the case of in-coming censorship, it was agreed that details of the post-mark, time of posting, description of outer cover and other distinguishing features, should be included in interception reports sent to the province of issue and the Intelligence Bureau and other provinces concerned. These details will enable the province of issue to make use of watchers in the vicinity of the posting area, and in the case of the Bombay centre, help to narrow down the field of enquiries to working limits in view of the limited staff of watchers available in Bombay and the adjoining Bombay suburbs area.

In the case of out-going interceptions, it was agreed that a photostat copy of the original cover should be sent to the C.I.D., or District Police at destination by express letter, and the original released for delivery the following day. This arrangement will enable the C. I. D. or District Police at destination to follow up the delivery of the original letter to the post-box and thence to its ultimate destination.

Details of changes in the method of addressing the outer covers containing party correspondence or communist literature, as are known to occur at frequent intervals, should be carefully recorded and promptly circulated. In this connection it was suggested that an exchange of specimens of handwriting of the more important communist leaders evading arrest might prove of assistance of Censor Officers.

In the case of railway receipts sent by post and of railway parcels containing communist literature—particulars of the receipt showing the railway station of despatch and method of disguising and wrapping the package, with if possible a photostat copy of the label, will be sent to the province of issue and to other provinces where similar consignments of communist literature are likely to have been sent. Recent experience in Madras and Calcutta has shown that such details are capable of leading to the identification of other consignments containing communist literature and provide important clues in relation to the distribution centre and distributing agency.

Details of secret inks or codes experienced in the course of censorship will be communicated by the Intelligence Bureau to C. I. Ds. in the periodical Intelligence Surveys.

It was agreed that as details of post-boxes are already shown in the interception reports, lists of post-boxes would serve no useful purpose and in any case soon become out-of-date. At the same time it was suggested that censorship of all known post-boxes and safe addresses should be maintained even though the individual has been questioned by the police or arrested, as cases have occurred in which such addresses have continued to be used.

As regards the decision whether to withhold or pass on communist correspondence, it was agreed that this should normally be left to the province of destination to decide.

3. Communist Propaganda.—The consensus of opinion was that legal (open) communist propaganda has temporarily ceased in its more blatant form, but that illegal (secret) publications continue to make their appearance at regular intervals, published mainly from the Bombay headquarters, with subsidiary presses and publication centres in the Punjab, U. P., Calcutta and Madras.

The Conference was generally agreed that systematic police enquiries with a view to closer control of the extremist press generally was advisable, and that frequent searches and inspection of suspect presses both in Bombay and other centres of publication were justified and necessary. Enquiries into illegal pamphlets and other publications might with advantage make use of expert opinion regarding the type of print and paper used and include a check on purchases of paper. The question of introducing reliable secret agents into suspect presses was also discussed and recommended.

It was suggested that investigations in respect of the various printed and cyclostyled illegal pamphlets, leaflets, manifestos, monthly issues of the *Communist*, Communist News-Letters, etc., proceed from the central press, would enable systematic enquiries to be conducted from Bombay, both as regards the whereabouts of printing and preparation of this unceasing stream of publications and the method of its distribution to outlying centres in the latter connection in consultation with the provinces concerned.

The question of the supply of funds was also discussed in relation to the production of communist literature. It was estimated that the central publications alone necessarily involve a minimum expenditure of at least Rs. 1,500 a month, the source of which is unaccounted for.

4. Communism and the Armed Forces.—The various recent attempts made by 'Kirti' (Sikh Communist) agencies to undermine the loyalty of the Indian Army were considered. It was agreed that C. I. Ds. should pay close attention to cantonment areas within their jurisdiction—especially where Sikh personnel are involved—and maintain, as far as possible, a general lookout against suspicious characters trying to approach Indian troops in cantonment areas of their vicinity, as in the recent Meerut cases.

It was also decided that C.I.Ds. in conjunction with Meerut cases and District Police should endeavour to keep a general eye open for secret approaches being made to individual soldiers in recruiting areas or on leave in their villages. The question of troops travelling by train or waiting at railway stations being approached by communists or other subversive agents was considered in this connection, and it was decided that the Railway police should arrange for a watch accordingly in consultation with C. I. Ds.

No instances have so far been reported of any similar organised attempts by communists to subvert the police, but it was agreed that communist plans include the undermining of police loyalty equally with that of the Army.

Police representatives from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Calcutta, Bihar, U. P., Punjab and the Intelligence Bureau attended the Conference. All agreed that the Conference had provided a most useful exchange of ideas on the subject of measures to defeat the communists, and that the discussions had enabled a better understanding of the practical difficulties experienced in the different provinces and of the various methods adopted for overcoming these difficulties.

It was decided to bring on record the view that informal Conferences of this nature might be repeated more often, as providing an opportunity for free discussion of practical police problems in the field of all-India subversive agitation and a most useful means of fostering and improving inter-provincial co-operation.

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Mahatma Gandhi on Individual Satyagraha

I have had three days' discussion with the Working Committee. During it I unfolded my plan of civil disobedience in so far as I was able to envisage it. Although I have sole charge of the campaign, I could not think of taking the first step without consultation with the members of the Working Committee. In non-violent action one has to carry the co workers with one through the mind and the heart. There is no other way to enforce discipline or obedience to instructions. I must admit that it was not plain sailing for me. There was stubborn dissent from two members. I tried hard to carry conviction to them but I fear I failed. They will, however, yield obedience so far as it is possible for them for the sake of discipline. The difference of opinion solely centred round the quantity of civil disobedience and the restrictions with which it was hedged.

I disclose this part of the discussion to show that my plan will fall short of the expectations of those whom the dissenters represent. I would simply say to them, ' Wait patiently and see what happens. Carry out instructions to the best of your ability. Do nothing to thwart the plan. If your reason rebels against it, you will serve the cause by seceding and educating the people along your own lines. That would be straight, brave and stimulating, in that the people will learn to appraise the value of different methods. You will cause confusion by preaching from the Congress platform anything contrary to the official programme, especially when the whole organization becomes like an army. It matters little whether one person offers civil disobedience or many. The rest have to render such support as they may be called upon to do.

The plan is simply this. Direct action will be commenced by Shri Vinoba Bhave and for the time being confined to him only. And since it is to be confined to individual civil disobedience and that too of him only, it will be so conducted by him as to exclude others directly or indirectly. But since it is concerned with freedom of speech, the public will be involved to an extent. It is open to them either to listen to him or not.

But much will depend upon what the Government wish to do. In spite of all attempt to confine civil disobedience to individuals and for the moment to one only, they can precipitate a crisis by making it a crime to listen to him or read anything written by him. But I think and believe that they do not want to invite any trouble, though they hold themselves in readiness to cope with every trouble that may face them.

I have discussed with Shri Vinoba various plans so as to avoid all unnecessary friction or risks. The idea is to make all action as strictly non-violent as is humanly possible. One man's violence, veiled or open, cannot go beyond a certain limit, but within that limit it would be effective. One man's non-violent action would be despised and ridiculed by the non-believer in it. In truth, while the effect of a given violent action can be reduced to mathematical terms, that of non-violent action defies all calculation and has been known to falsify many that have been hazarded. How far I shall be able to present an example of unadulterated non-violence remains to be seen.

Who is Vinoba Bhave and why has he been selected ? He is an undergraduate having left college after my return to India in 1915. He is a Sanskrit-scholar. He joined the Ashram almost at its inception. He was among the first members. In order to better qualify himself he took one year's leave to prosecute further studies in Sanskrit. And, practically at the same hour at which he had left the Ashram a year before, he walked into it without notice. I had forgotten that he was due to arrive that day. He has taken part in every menial activity of the Ashram from scavenging to cooking. Though he has a marvellous memory and is a student by nature, he has devoted the largest part of his time to spinning in which he has specialized as very few have. He believes in universal spinning being the central activity which will remove

the poverty in the villages and put life into their deadness. Being a born teacher he has been of the utmost assistance to Ashadevi in her development of the scheme of education through handicrafts. Shri Vinoba has produced a text-book taking spinning as the handicraft. It is original in conception. He has made scoffers realize that spinning is the handicraft par excellence which lends itself to being effectively used for basic education. He has revolutionized takli spinning and drawn out its hitherto unknown possibilities. For perfect spinning probably he has no rival in all India.

He has abolished every trace of untouchability from his heart. He believes in communal unity with the same passion that I have. In order to know the best mind of Islam he gave one year to the study of the Koran in the original. He therefore learnt Arabic. He found this study necessary for cultivating a living contact with the Muslims in his neighbourhood.

He has an army of disciples and workers who would rise to any sacrifice at his bidding. He is responsible for producing a young man who has dedicated himself to the service of lepers. Though an utter stranger to medicine this worker has by singular devotion mastered the method of treatment of lepers and is now running several clinics for their care. Hundreds owe their cure to his labours. He has now published a handbook in Marathi for the treatment of lepers. Vinoba was for years Director of the Mahila Ashram in Wardha. His devotion to the cause of *Daridranarayana* took him first to a village near Wardha, and now he has gone still further and lives in Paunar five miles from Wardha, from where he has established contact with villages through the disciples he has trained.

He believes in the necessity of the political independence of India. He is an accurate student of history. But he believes that real independence of the villagers is impossible without the constructive programme of which Khadi is the centre. He believes that the charkha is the most suitable outward symbol of non-violence which has become an integral part of his life. He has taken an active part in the previous satyagraha campaigns. He has never been in the limelight on the political platform. With many co-workers he believes that silent constructive work with civil disobedience in the background is far more effective than the already heavily crowded political platform. And he thoroughly believes that non-violent resistance is impossible without a heart belief in and practice of constructive work.

Vinoba is an out-and-out war resister. But he respects equally with his own the conscience of those who, whilst not being out-and-out war resisters, have yet strong conscientious objection to participation in the present war. Though Vinoba represents both the types. I may want to select another who will represent only one type, namely, conscientious objection to participation in the present war.

It was necessary to introduce Vinoba at length to the public in order to justify my choice. This will perhaps be the last civil disobedience struggle which I shall have conducted. Naturally I would want it to be as flawless as it can be. Moreover the Congress has declared that it will avoid all avoidable embarrassment to the Government consistently with its own existence. For that reason too I had to strive to produce the highest quality irrespective of quantity.

But Vinoba must fail, as I must, if we do not represent the Congress, let alone the whole nation. And we shall certainly not represent either if they do not give us full-hearted co-operation which is ceaseless prosecution of the constructive programme. It is not vocal co-operation that is required. It is co-operation in work that is needed. The signs of such co-operation will be phenomenal progress in spinning, complete disappearance of untouchability, an increasing friendliness between communities, and an increasing sense of justice in every walk of life. Unless rockbottom justice and equality pervade society, surely there is no nonviolent atmosphere. Above all there should be no civil disobedience but what is sanctioned by me. This is peremptory obligation binding one very Congressman. If it is disregarded, there is no co-operation. The representative character belonging to Vinoba and me is then challenged. And I can say with confidence that, if the full-hearted co-operation I want is forthcoming, not only will the issue of freedom of speech be decided in our favour but we shall have gone very near independence. Let those who will, take me at my word. They will have lost nothing and will find that they had contributed greatly to the movement of freedom through truthful and nonviolent means.

Let me repeat the issue. On the surface it is incredibly narrow—the right to preach against war as war or participation in the present war. Both are matters of conscience for those who hold either view. Both are substantial rights. Their exercise can do no harm to the British if their pretension that to all intents and purposes India is an independent country is at all true. If India is very much a dependency in fact as it is in law, whatever the British get from India can never be regarded as voluntary, it must be regarded as impressed. This battle of life and death cannot be won by impressed levies, however large. They may win if they have the moral backing of an India truly regarded as free. Non-violent Congress cannot wish ill to Britain. Nor can it help her through arms since it seeks to gain her own freedom not through arms but through unadulterated non-violence. And the Congress vanishes if, at the crucial moment, it suppresses itself for fear of consequences or otherwise by ceasing to preach non-violence through non-violence means. So when we probe the issue deep enough we discover that it is a matter of life and death for us. If we vindicate that right, all is well with us. If we do not, all is lost. We cannot then win swaraj through non-violent means.

I know that India has not one mind. There is a part of India that is war-minded and will learn the art of war through helping the British. The Congress has no desire, therefore, to surround ammunition factories or barracks and prevent people from doing what they like. We want to tell the people of India that, if they will win swaraj through non-violent means, they may not co-operate militarily with Britain in the prosecution of the war.

This right of preaching against participation in the war is being denied to us, and we have to fight against the denial. Therefore, while that right will be exercised only by those whom I may select for the purpose, all the other activities of the Congress will continue as before unless the Government interfere with them.

A question has been asked why, if I attach so much importance to quality, I do not offer civil resistance myself. I have already said that unlike as on previous occasions I do not wish to do so for the very good reason that my imprisonment is likely to cause greater embarrassment to the authorities than anything else the Congress can do. I want also to remain outside to cope with any contingency that may arise. My going to jail may be interpreted as a general invitation to all Congressmen to follow suit. They will not easily distinguish between my act and speech. Lastly, I do not know how things will shape. I myself do not know the next step. I do not know the Government plan. I am a man of faith. My reliance is solely on God. One step is enough for me. The next he will make clear to me when the time for it comes. And who knows that I shall not be an instrument for bringing about peace not only between Britain and India but also between the warring nations of the earth. This last wish will not be taken for vanity by those who believe that my faith is not a sham but a reality greater than the fact that I am penning these lines.

Sevagram, October 15. 1940.

Harijan. 20-10-1940.

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Vinoba Bhave's Statement on Individual Satyagraha

I owe it to the public to give them an idea of the state of mind in which I am undertaking the serious responsibility of initiating the Anti-war Satyagraha and of my plan of action. Gandhiji has set out his plan in his elaborate statement. This statement is being made in so far as it concerns me.

"Twenty-four years ago I left home with the ambition of realising God, and with the firm faith that the best and easiest means for that Realisation is service of mankind. I have devoted those years to that service. Indeed experience has proved my belief that it was not service of mankind but service of myself. All the while my mind has been possessed with nothing but the thought of how an erring mortal like me was to be worthy of getting at his feet. In undertaking the responsibility of initiating Satyagraha today my own object is the very same "

" I have complete faith in *ahimsa*. I believe that ahimsa is the only means of solving all the problems with which mankind is faced. I regard Khadi, service of harijans. Communal Unity and other items of the constructive programme as the external expressions of *ahimsa*. It is no exaggeration to say that all my twenty-four hours are devoted to the pursuit and development of this programme. I believe that in prohibiting anti-war propaganda Government have attacked the very foundation of all constructive work. That is why I had no hesitation in responding to the call of initiating Individual Civil Disobedience. "

" War itself is a thing that I think is not worthy of man. And the present mechanised war which makes no distinction between combatants and non-combatants is the height of cruelty. Man is fast being reduced by it to the state of the brute. It is going to do good to none."

" India has set before herself the goal of Swarajya means survarajya, *i.e.* the Government of all. That can be attained only by *Ahimsa*. The Congress has devoted the past twenty years to developing non-violent strength and with some success. If India is dragged into this war against her will and we do not resist the process the Congress will have lost all it has gained."

" There is no reason to see much difference between Nazism and British Imperialism. The British statesmen say that they are fighting in defence of democracy, but they are not prepared to apply the principle of democracy to India. On the contrary they will not even concede the liberty of free expression of opinion strictly limited by non-violence."

" What then is one to do ? If one sits quiet, violence is promoted and *ahimsa* is strangled. On the other hand *ahimsa* cannot afford to embarrass Government in their difficulty. That is why Gandhiji decided upon the plan of Individual Civil Disobedience, and confined even that for the moment to one individual. He has entrusted me with responsibility which is very difficult indeed, but one which I as a votary of *ahimsa* may not shirk."

" I have decided, if I am left free, to go to the people and appeal to them to take no part in the war in as gentle a language as is possible for me. In doing so I have to explain to them the philosophy of *ahimsa* and the frightfulness of the present war. I shall show them according to my view Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism are all chips of the same block. I shall also place before them the story of how the Congress, while adhering to its goal and yet with a view not to embarrass the Government, has progressively reduced its concrete demands ultimately confining them to what many have regarded as an extremely insipid demand *viz.* that of freedom of expression, to the extent of preservation of our existence. In short I shall try to convince how it is impossible to help the war in any way whatsoever. And I shall appeal to the people to combine with the sacred but nevertheless passive programme of non-participation in the war. the intensive propagation of the active programme of constructive work. "

" I know that the responsibility cast upon me is very great and I am but an erring mortal. If I were to confine myself to that single consideration my courage would certainly fail me. But it does not. and for one and only reason *viz.*, that I hope that with the grace of God and the blessings of good men the task I am undertaking will help me to burn my shortcomings to ashes. May God help me."

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Lumley-Jinnah Correspondence on Expansion of Viceroy's Council

The following is the correspondence that passed between Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim league, and Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay :-

Sir Roger Lumley to Jinnah, Poona, 20 July 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

H. E. the Viceroy has asked me to let you know his intentions on the matters which follow. I had hoped that I would be able to see you myself in order that I might convey this message to you personally, as was his desire : but unfortunately, now that I am in a position to give you the message, I am not entirely fit, and I am, therefore, writing to convey it to you by this letter, which I am sending down to Bombay by special messenger.

The Viceroy has continued to have very much in mind the whole situation in regard to the War effort and the association of non-official opinion with the prosecution of the war. The obstacles, however, to any settlement on the basis of the complete offer of August last, which emerged so clearly during the discussions last autumn, still exist to his very great regret, as the last few months and the reactions to the Secretary of State's statement in the House of Commons on April the 22nd have made clear. In these circumstances, it is equally clear that he cannot look for the degree of support from the major parties, for the proposals embodied in the August offer, which he desires. Nevertheless, the burden of the conduct of the war on the Central Government has greatly increased, and for administrative reasons it is essential to proceed with some increase in the membership of the Viceroy's Council within the terms of the August offer. The Viceroy, accordingly, is anxious that you should know that he is now, with the approval of His Majesty's Government creating five new portfolios and the names of the gentleman by whom they have been accepted are as follows :-

SUPPLY—Sir Homi Mody ;

INFORMATION—Sir Akbar Hydari:

CIVIC DEFENCE—Dr. Raghavendra Rao :

INDIANS OVERSEAS—Mr. Aney :

LABOUR—Sir Firoz Khan Noon.

The Viceroy would also like you to know that he proposes to fill the vacancies arising in the portfolio of Law when Sir Zafrullah Khan goes to the Federal Court, and in the portfolio of Education when Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai takes up a mission overseas, by the appointment of Sir Sultan Ahmed and Mr. Sarkar.

In addition, the Viceroy does not feel that, because of the difficulty in securing the support of the major political parties, it is possible to delay further, the more active association or non-official Indian opinion with the prosecution of the war. He is accordingly establishing, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, a National Defence Council. This Council will consist of some thirty members, nine of whom will be drawn from the Indian States.

The Viceroy regards it as essential that the great Muslim community should be represented on that Council by persons of the Highest prominence and capacity.

He has accordingly invited the Premiers of Assam, Bengal, the Punjab and Sind to serve as members of it, and he has extended invitations also to certain other prominent Muslims, such as Sir Mahomed Usman. He has considered whether he should invite you to let him have any suggestions as to the possible personnel for this Council, but being aware, as he is of your general attitude, he has concluded that it would be preferable not to embarrass you by inviting you to make suggestions.

It is intended that an announcement about these changes will be made on the morning of Tuesday, July the 22nd, and the Viceroy is anxious that you should have through me this advance information of what is proposed. I would have much preferred to have given you this message orally, but this letter contains the substance of it.

I hope that you have now fully recovered from your recent illness. "

Yours Sincerely,
ROGER LUMLEY

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Jinnah's Reply

(Mr. M. A. Jinnah's reply, dated 21st July 1941)

Dear Sir Roger.

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th July, 1941. which embodies the message of H. E. the Viceroy. I deeply regret the decision taken by him with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I appreciate when he says that he does not wish to embarrass me by inviting me to make suggestions, knowing, as he does not only my general attitude but that of the All-India Muslim League. Further I cannot approve of his having invited the Muslim League Premiers or any other Muslim Leaguer under the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Council as well as what is now called the National Defence Council, because it is obvious that it would embarrass the Muslim League organisation, and I do hope and trust that His Excellency will avoid such a contingency.

Besides, it is hardly fair or proper that they should be approached by His Excellency over the head of the President and the Executive of the All-India Muslim League, knowing full well the position and the attitude that the All-India Muslim League has adopted."

It is stated in his message that the Viceroy regards it as essential that the great Muslim community should be represented by persons of the highest prominence and capacity.

Would it be creditable for any individual prominent or capable Mussalman belonging to an organisation to accept the invitation contrary to the position and the attitude taken up by that organisation and would it do any credit to the Government if they succeed in alluring him and create a breach in the organisation, in the hope that he may throw up his allegiance to the party to which he belongs in order to accept the invitation of His Excellency ?

I maintain that the great Muslim community is represented authoritatively only by the the All-India Muslim League organisation. Persistence in this course will not improve matters. But on the contrary it will lead to bitterness on the part of the Muslim League which up to the present moment fortunately, does not exist however, emphatically we have disapproved of the policy which has been pursued by His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy.

Before I conclude I am extremely sorry to hear that you are not well, and I hope that you will soon recover from your illness.

Thanking you for your kind enquiries I am now much better. "

Yours Sincerely,
M. A.JINNAH.